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A Multi-Level; Mixed-Methods Study of Family Management Framework: A Migrant Nigerian Professional Dual-Earner Families Perspective.

**A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy at the Middlesex University
May 2005**

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Declaration

This dissertation describes my original work except where acknowledgement is made in the text. It includes nothing, which is the outcome of work done in collaboration. It is not substantially the same as any work that has been, or is being submitted for any degree or diploma at any other University.

ABSTRACT

The last quarter of the twentieth century witnessed what is undoubtedly one of the most important socio-demographic changes in the labour market both developed and developing countries. For the first time, women and married women entered the labour market on a massive scale.

One of the consequences of this socio-demographic shift is the dynamic in family management framework. Particularly for professional married women with dependent children, who continues to bear the main responsibility for taking care of the family, also for professional married men, who are expected increasingly to be involved in domestic and childcare tasks. This dynamic in family management framework is even more acute for migrant Nigerian professional dual-earner families because of absence of support from their extended families.

Given the fact that migrant Nigerian professional dual-earner families with dependent children as a collective, and qualitatively, as method have been largely neglected in the literature, I decided to embark on a multi-level, mixed-method study of family management framework from a migrant dual-earner professional families perspective. The study is mixed-method, because I use both qualitative and quantitative methods to study the theme. It is multi-level study, because, a) I address at the micro level the attitude and behaviour of the couples to family management, b) at the meso-level/macro-level, how the migrants perceive their experiences from the British government, employers, and c) the mainstream and how they have adapted in their new environment.

In the first study, I review and confront two practically divorced literatures: the literature on management of domestic and childcare tasks and other strands of family tasks. I point to the gap in the literature and the need to recognise this in order to understand fully the family management frameworks within contemporary families.

In the second study, I explore how the families perceive their treatment by the government, employers, and the mainstream population and their level of enculturation in Britain. The study use hermeneutics phenomenology method (i.e. in-depth interview and group discussion). The study suggests that the field may be overlooking some fundamental variables. Interpretative analysis of the interview transcripts reveals the importance of understanding immigrant's perception of their new environment, immanent or tacit actions such as how they interpret their status, relate to the mainstream values and beliefs and the influences of sending context on their adaptation. The study contributes to the field a different theoretical approach to the study of family management framework among people who leave one country to settle in another country.

In the third study, I explore the couple's attitudes and behaviour to family management framework using a quantitative study of 286 respondents. The analysis reveal that traditional attitudes of sex-specific assignment of family work did loose some of their consensus, but are far from having disappeared. The analysis also reveal a two dimensional management structure whereby, wives are dominantly responsible for domestic and childcare tasks, also performs majority of the domestics tasks and

childcare; the husbands are dominantly responsible for house services tasks and provider roles and performs most the house-services tasks and provider role.

I found also, that major changes in the couple's socio-demographic characteristics i.e. educational qualifications, narrower age gap, and both couple's participation in labour market point less towards clear-cut egalitarianism, which could be an alternative to traditional gender structure. The study shows that a 'modernized traditional' form of family management is salient among this sub-group of immigrant Nigerian families living in London.

In a fourth study I use interpretive analysis of the interview transcripts of 18 professional dual-earner couples to explore factors that may explain the prevalence of modernised traditionalism of family management framework. I found that exogenous social rhythms, personal beliefs, and interpersonal negotiation of individual partners play an important role.

As a conclusion, I recommend the need to integrate the literatures on management of domestic and childcare tasks with other areas of family work such as provider role and family house-services tasks to come up with a model that is useful for both academics and practitioners. In addition, to take into consideration in future studies of immigrants or disabled people etc. The effects of sending context (i.e. reasons for immigrating) and the immigrant perception of their new environment as these variables could have influencing effects on their behaviour.

Finally, I suggest that family management research need fresh models that reflect the contemporary world in which families exists.

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I am very grateful to the many interviewees and participants in this research. Though access to informants was initially feared as a primary challenge in my methodology, I was happily amazed by the families’ willingness to give their valuable time and energy. On many occasions, I was impressed with the community leaders and church pastors’ commitment to assist.

Lastly, and most importantly, I wish to thank my mother, Madam Bernice Ogwuanu (nee obele-nwayi) Nezianya. She bore me, raised me, supported me, taught me, loved me, and equipped me to face the world. Moreover, to my children Adaobi Nezianya and Ekenedilichukwu Nezianya, their smiles, unconditional love, their occasional mischief, curiosity, determination to live gave me the strength to go on and finish this research. To them I dedicate this thesis.

A Multi-Level, Mixed-Method Study of Family Management Framework. A Migrant Nigeria Professional dual-earner Families Perspective

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CHAPTER ONE

A multi-level, mixed-method study of family management framework by migrant Nigerian dual-earner professional families with dependent children living in London

1.1 Introduction

In this introduction chapter, I briefly sketch the context, outline, internal logic of the thesis. It consists of five manuscripts (a literature review and four empirical studies). They will be integrated in two ways. In this introductory chapter, I will explain how these different papers form a set of studies that complement each other, describing the different levels of analysis and methods used. In a concluding chapter, I will discuss the four papers, relate the conclusions drawn from them and suggest recommendations for research and practice. Over the next paragraphs, I will describe the context, the objective and outline of the thesis, briefly describing content of each study that constitutes the dissertation.

1.2 Research Context

For the past two decades, we have witnessed what is unquestionably one of the most important socio-demographic changes in the labour market. For the first time, women, including married women entered the labour force on a massive scale. Women in 2003, constitutes 1.1 billion or 40% of the world labour force (ILO News, 2004). Although, women's labour force participation has increased tremendously, according to International labour organisation's report, nearly 200 million in the past 10 years. There is still a considerable contrast between the gap in women and men employment – to – population ratios across countries and regions for example, in the developed countries the gap was 16 percentage points in 2004, while in the regions of the Middle East and North Africa and South Asia

the difference in the employment ratio between was 40 percentage points. In Latin America and the Caribbean, the difference was 30-percentage point (ILO Bureau of statistics, 2003). In 2003, labour force participation rate by women in U.K. rose from 58% in 1984 to 70% in 2003. The gap in employment rate between men and women narrowed from 19 percentage point in 1984 to 9 percentage point in 2003 (Hibbett et al., 2002). In London, around 64% of women are in employment compared to 76% of men. Labour force participation rate by women in London varied across ethnic groups for example, within the BME (black and minority ethnic) group, 71% of Black Caribbean women are in employment compared with 20% of Bangladeshi (GLA, DMAG, 2003). In Britain, Nigerian immigrants are one of the ethnic groups with high growth of employment rate – with an average employment rate of 67% for both settled immigrants and new immigrants (IPPR, 2005).

Women are also becoming increasingly active in starting up and running their own business. The European Observation of SME's fourth annual report indicated that up to 30% of all enterprise across the member states are managed by women and approximately a third of all new enterprises are started by women (1996, p.330). In Britain, women (Atkinson, 2002) manage 12.3% of private small enterprises.

At the same time, we see a number of trends that have an important impact on family management framework. First, the pursuit of higher education by women, the increasing equity in employment opportunities and the tendency of professional women to marry professional men has resulted to high number of dual-earner professional families than the traditional single-outside employer families (Lewis & Lewis, 1996; Zedeck, 1992).

One consequence of this socio-demographic shift is the impact on the family management framework. This not only for the working married women with dependent children, who continue to bear the main responsibility for taking care of the family, but also for husbands with dependent children, who are increasingly are expected to be actively involved in domestic work (Lewis et al,

1998). This impact on family management structure is even more acute for the professional immigrant dual-earner families with dependent children because of their immigrant status i.e. absence of extended families in many cases. Moreover, issues faced by dual-earner couples are exacerbated by current trends in job intensification and psychological contracts (Lewis and Cooper, 1999). Higgins & Duxbury (1992) studied differences in work-family conflicts between dual-earner families and traditional families. They found that dual-earner husband's experiences significant negative spillover compared to husband's in the single – earner families (pp. 389-411). According to the authors, the cause is a lack of structural flexibility at work. Hochschild (1989) states that, shift in family management framework have led to double burden for the wives.

In the last few decades, scholars working in diverse research disciplines like social psychology, sociology, home economics, and organisational behaviour have studied family-work management frameworks. They have accumulated ample of evidence which showed that shift in the socio-demographics have not led to a significant change in the family management framework across various family types. Most husbands have failed to balance the shift with a proportional increase in responsibility for domestic labour (Thompson, 1991).

Consequently, recent research focuses on the pervasive imbalance. Some section of family scholars anticipated that this imbalance is resulting in widespread negative emotions among wives in particular (Goldner, 1988; Hochschild, 1989). Conversely, some researchers indicated that only about one out of three wives feels that the division of family-work in their marriage is unfair (Benin, 1988), and even fewer report having negative emotions regarding the inequality in the division of domestic work (Gershuny & Robinson, 1988). A gradual increase in husband's domestic labour participation has also been reported (Gershuny, 1988; Marshall, 1990). It is evidently clear that research is divided between diagnostics of change and diagnostics of resilience. However, most of these empirical research findings are based largely on Anglo-American families; it is not clear how the shift in socio-

demography is affecting family management framework in non-European families (such Nigerian immigrants).

Since the middle of 20th century, a large proportion of Nigerians who came to Britain for further study has settled permanently. According to the recent census, there is about 88,000 immigrant Nigerians living UK, this number maybe a conservative estimate because large proportion of Nigerians have dual- nationality status. It is expected that this shift in socio-demography will somehow impact on family management framework among the Nigerian immigrant families differently than for the Anglo-American families partly, because traditional family constellations show more resilience in Nigerian immigrant community. There is the need for empirical research that can serve as a basis for broadening theory on dynamics in the family management framework that is largely based on Anglo-American experiences. There is a need also to bring together immigrant families and mainstream families research on this topic as a necessary basis to inspire strategy aimed at development and evaluation of progress towards a more balanced framework that fits well with the contemporary family need.

Although, there are several reasons why we can expect family management framework among Nigerian immigrant dual-earner families to be different, still, Nigerian immigrant dual-earner families research is scarce, if not completely lacking. For example, they came from a culture where wives are still expected to stay at home while husbands are expected to be at work; where there is wide availability of family social capital (i.e. support from the extended family) and community social capital that are not available to them here in London. Where there is still strong constrained on self-expression within marriage i.e. partners do not have autonomy to construct their own private universe based on their personal norms and convictions, which they have now in London. Where wives are expected to depend solely on their husbands for financial support in return for the ‘care’ of their husbands needs.

These unique characteristics of Nigerian immigrant's marriage provide an opportunity to test and compliment some of the insights based on predominantly Anglo-American families. It also conditions the interpretation and the generalization of the result. I shall now turn to the purpose of the dissertation.

1.3 Research Objectives

The purpose of this doctoral dissertation is to explore family management framework from the socio-psychology perspectives. This means studying what is really happening to Nigerian immigrant professional dual-earner families. More specifically: what has changed with respect to the division and performance of family-work in their families. In addition, studying what drives the prevalent management framework, and how they fit into their social environment and possible impact on their attitudes and behaviours. This already suggests two different level of analysis, i.e. micro-social level (such as interpersonal interactions, exchanges or negotiations) and meso-level (the social-structural set-up of the environment in which the couples reside). In addition, as this dissertation is presumably the first known empirical investigation of family management framework in the Nigerian professional dual-earner families in Diaspora I want to put more emphasis on descriptive exploration of the theme, considering theoretical implications, and suggesting a research agenda for the future.

To accomplish these objectives, I will use both qualitative and quantitative methods. One of the clear conclusions that can be drawn from the literature study is that the field of family work management can be characterised by over-emphasis on quantitative, cross-sectional studies. A direct consequence of studying family management framework with mainly quantitative approach is production of research findings with limited insight on what is really happening within the contemporary families. In addition, only a limited amount of studies takes a microscopic, and/or longitudinal look at why family management is still pervasively traditional.

In view of the above outlined limitations, I decided therefore, to use mixed methods (i.e. quantitative and qualitative approaches) in my thesis.

I use qualitative method to explore the theme by directly involving the respondents (Nigerian professional dual earner couples), and quantitative methods to quantify and test to some extent the relationships of family management framework and the socio-demographic characteristics of the couples. As shown in figure 1, combining these two approaches results in three empirical studies that form the thesis:

	Qualitative	Quantitative
Micro-level	Study 1 (social environment)	Study 2 (interpersonal interactions)
Meso-level	Study 4 antecedents	Study 3 (interpersonal interactions)

Figure 1: Studies 1 to 4 of the dissertation categorized in function of level of analysis and methods

The descriptive exploration as I pointed out earlier, called for by the research objectives implies a series of theoretical queries: how do these immigrant dual-earner couples organise, and as a function of what? There are series of specific theories frequently used to explain the management of family work. At least five theoretical approaches can be distinguished in the research literature: a) Human capital/new home economics (Becker, 1981); b) time constraints or time availability (Coverman, 1985; England & Farkas, 1996); c) gender performance or doing gender (West & Zimmerman, 1987); d) resources theory (Blood & Wolf 1960); and e) socialisation and sex-role ideology (certainly one of the oldest theory in this area, starting no later than with sociological functionalism; any quotation would be arbitrary). Most of these theories are limited to a social-level as they focus mainly on various mechanisms of individual or interpersonal behaviour. Often this behaviour is seen as

motivated by such factors as norm conformism or identity expression. The social-structural set-up of the environment in which the people/couples live is not explicitly considered.

Against this backdrop, I will relate my analysis to a larger theoretical perspective, starting with context's structure (i.e. human ecological approach) and its influence on the couples, without deriving hypothesis since my method is inspired by an exploratory approach. I shall now give the outline of the thesis.

1.4 Thesis Outline

The thesis is structured into eight chapters, which progresses in accordance with the identified research objectives. The first chapter comprises an introduction, which, in addition to stating the research objectives, described the context, methodologies, and scope of the research.

The broad themes sketched in the introduction are elaborated in chapter two to provide further conceptual framework for the remainder of the thesis. The chapter brings together several literatures on family work. It describes the antecedents and consequences of changes in work-family management because of shift in socio-economic spheres on both husband and wife. In addition, it provides a number of broad categories that allow building a framework for the research. The literature however, fails to account for the diversity and complexity of the processes surrounding family management especially for the immigrant families. For example, the social-structural set-up of the environment in which the immigrants live is not fully addressed.

Chapter three presents the methodology and methods. These chapters present the theoretical basis for the methods used in the research. It details three key types of methodologies (literature review, qualitative and quantitative) used to collect data and methods used in the analyses. It also presents supporting arguments for the methods and methodologies used.

Chapter four presents the first empirical study, the study compliments the literature review in the sense that it aims to create a broad perspectives of all themes related to social-environment i.e. norms and values, which originates in the macro-systems that can implicitly or explicitly affect the family work management structure. Only this time the source is not the literature, but the immigrant professional couples themselves. After describing the landscape from a bird's perspective in the literature review and the study 1 presented in chapter four, I try to pinpoint the couples attitudes and behaviors about family management framework taking into account some of the antecedents highlighted factors in study 2 and 3, presented in chapters five and six. In this study I measure the most usual regulative (i.e., how a couple organize and coordinates everyday production of family life) aspects of family functioning : couples task attribution and power differentiation and establish to what degree family management framework did/did not correspond to the traditional model. Whereas study 2 and 3, presented in chapter five and six study quantitatively norms and the actual behaviors, study 4 presented in chapter 7, using qualitative methods addresses the question like why the observe management framework prevails?, and reasons behind the persistent of the management framework. Finally, in chapter eight, I provide an overview of the thesis and summarises the key conclusions. In addition, the difficulties encountered in the processes of carrying out the research; the limitations of the research conceptually and methodologically are discussed. The 'contribution to knowledge' and recommendations for feature studies are made.

In sum, this dissertation is a mixed-method, multi-level study of family management framework, taken from a migrant Nigerian professional dual-earner perspective.

For purpose of clarity, I will adopt similar format in presenting the four empirical studies: abstract, introduction, results, and discussion/conclusion. In the introduction, I will concentrate on the issues and pertinent theories relevant to the study, to avoid excessive repletion. Next, I will not describe the

methodologies and methods used in every study separately; instead, I will address all methods and methodologies in a chapter, as is mostly the case in the methodologies of academic papers. The result found in each study is describe and discussed, drawing conclusions, pointing at weaknesses of the study, and suggesting ways to advance the study in future.

Chapter Two

Issues in family management framework. A research agenda

2.1. Introduction

Contemporary family sociology was developed in the middle of 20th century, (mainly in North America and many European Countries). These studies were dominated by functionalist paradigm (Parson & Bales 1955; Goode 1963). The basic model was that family internal structures were organized around two ascribed criteria, sex and age. For example, the responsibility of husbands and wives inside and outside the home were markedly differentiated with wives attributed with internal tasks roles, and husbands attributed with outside tasks roles. Because this structure was seen as complimentary, it was not taken as an impediment to the creation of more equitable relationships between couples. By the early 1970s, the functionalist domination of family sociology was being challenged. First from the early feminist critique of the functionalist models which saw the model as shroud for the exploitation of married women by men, and pseudo-scientifically glorifying discriminative practices presented as a functional necessities for the whole society as well as optimal solutions for the intrinsic identities of the individuals (Friedman, 1963; Oakley, 1974; Bernard, 1976; Barker & Allen, 1976). Second challenge was the greater participation of married women with children in employment. The demographical change was taken as providing wives with greater freedom and power within marriage (Simpson and England, 1981). While this might be true, there was also a tendency to extrapolate the changes occurring further than was actually warranted. For example, within British sociology, the publication of Young and Willmott's *The 'Symmetrical family'* in 1973, with its vision of husband's and wives having interchangeable roles in and outside the home represented the apogee of such thinking. Since after this publication, many writers have demonstrated that it

is highly debatable whether tangible structural change has really taken place, and some writers continued to support the notion that changes are actually taken place. The argument by those writers who are expressing doubt are that, while aspects of wives' overall work patterns have been altering, there was less evidence that husbands' work patterns are also changing in a manner which impacts profoundly on the organisation of domestic work. The consequence of this lack of tangible structural change was that wives were undertaking 'double shift i.e. combining paid work with domestic work disproportionately compared with their husbands' (Hochschild, 1989; Horna et al, 1983; Duncombe and Marsden, 1995). Those expressing support for change (see for example, Reissman, 1998), argued that employed wives are doing less housework than non-employed wives are, also that the husbands of employed wives are performing more housework than non-employed wives are. Determining the direction of structural change in couples is not straightforward, given the influences of outside factors. Similarly, different models tend to make different assumptions and as a consequence seek different types of evidence to demonstrate that changes are taking place or not taking place. Often, what proponents of one model regards as convincing evidence is considered by others adopting different stance as anything but persuasive, disguising as much as revealing the real change of distribution of activities.

In this manuscript I will review the literature distinguishing theories, antecedents, consequences, typologies, and measures. In addition, I will focus on the literatures that have been focusing on 'time use' studies. The literature review serves as source for summarizing the weaknesses of these literatures and suggesting recommendations for the future studies in the domain of family management framework.

2.2 Literatures on family management framework: Theories

Since its early development theoretical discourse in the field of family management framework has been confined to a few dominant theories. I will briefly re-examine some of the theories that have guided research in the field.

One of the noticeable characteristics of family management framework field is its theoretical weakness. Prediction has been grounded on different models, and as we know, different models make different assumptions about its character, and as a consequence seek different types of evidence to demonstrate its working. Often, what proponents of one model regard as convincing evidence is considered by others adopting a different stance as anything but persuasive, disguising as much as revealing the salient management framework. For example, the standard approach to analyzing power in family is the ‘decision-making’ model. With history dating back to Blood and Wolfe’s (1960), pioneering study of 900 marriages in Buffalo, New York, the approach involves asking wives or husbands, occasionally both, who is more influential in making the important decisions which affect family life. While this seems simple enough, there are numerous problems associated with it, some more obvious than others (Allen, 1985; Edgell, 1980; Cromwell and Olsen, 1975): for instance, one issue for any decision-making study concerns the areas of decision-making which should be included. Pahl (1984), in his influential study of division of labour developed the concept of ‘household work strategy’. His concern was the range of work that contributed to the overall well-being of household, including formal and informal paid work, work done for other households in exchange for work they do for you, self-provisioning (that is, goods produced for household’s own consumption), and routine housework. Pahl drew on the notion of ‘strategy’ to indicate that households came collectively to decisions about how to deploy their efforts within the constraints of the economic opportunities open

to them. Questions have been raised about just how ‘strategic’ these decisions or non-decisions are (Anderson, Bechhofer and Kendrick, 1994; Ward, 1990). Strategy does after all imply a relatively high level of planning as well as some control over outcomes (Crow, 1989b). In some families there may be a great deal of negotiation about how work is best distributed; also, some have a good deal of control over just how much time is devoted to different forms of work. In families with fewer resources such as immigrants, the notion of strategic planning might be an unaffordable luxury or quite unfeasible.

Although some support exists for both decision-making and strategic models, they have not been integrated into one comprehensive model that can steer the family management research.

I will now briefly review other dominant theories without discussing in detail their merits, drawbacks and empirical relevance, as various good overviews and discussions already exist (see for example, Shelton & John, 1996; Bielby, 1999; Shelton, 1999; Coltrane, 2000).

Coltrane (2000), Shelton (1999), in their reviews concluded that all the theories have their *raison d’être*, and that all of them are known to be supported by empirical data which makes them all appear partial and possibly complimentary.

2.2.1 Human capital theory

Human capital theory postulate, that husbands and wives allocate their time to different kind of tasks or activities according to the principle of optimizing their return (Becker, 1965, 1981). In other words, there is a trade off among time spent in paid employment and unpaid employment (such as domestic work). This theory addresses the question: how does a family manage its resources in order to maximize its utility or well-being? (Berk, 1985). Although Becker does not state the predicted effects of paid employment on domestic work, the implication however, of his theory on the relationship between paid employment and unpaid

employment (i.e. domestic work) are clear. If the assumption that a couple cooperate to maximize their joint benefit holds, then it is expected that husband will adjust his role in the family when his wife's marginal productivity increases, i.e. the husband's share of participation in domestic work will increase if his wife spends more time in paid employment. Some of the assumptions in the human capital theory have been criticized. One of the criticisms is that it is based on a notion of well-being at the family level and assumes that interest of the husband and that of the wife are similar (Agarwal, 1997). However, benefit derived from the division of 'family-work' may not be shared equally between husband and wife. For example, studies of household financial management by Pahl (1980) show that a number of households do not pooled their finance and that some couples manage their income and expenditure individually. The theory is also criticized for its assumption that gender-role preferences are unchanged and biologically determined.

2.2.2 Time constraint/time availability theory

Time constraint or time availability (sometimes also called demand/response capability) theory postulate, that volume of time needed for the family depends on the number and the age of the children present in the household while the number of hours effectively spent in this area depends on what employed work leaves available (Coverman, 1995; England & Farkas, 1986; Hiller, 1984; Presser, 1994; Shelton, 1992; Shelton & John, 1996). Although support is generally found for the operation of time constraints theory, research finds that time constraints are gendered, and this has not been accounted for theoretically (Shelton, 1992; Bianchi et al. 2000). For example, researcher have found that wives' domestic work time is more responsive to hours of employment and number of children than is husbands' domestic work time (Bianchi et al. 2000). Time constraints theory implies that spouse who has the least capability to respond, because of work or other commitments will do less

domestic work than the spouse who has a greater capability to respond. A time constraint is gender neutral. However, empirical studies suggest that gender explains more variance than time constraints variables (see South & Spitze, 1994). Time constraints theory for example, does not explain why women and men respond differently to demands.

2.2.3 Dependency or the Gender-role ideology theory

This theory builds on or socialist feminist perspective of the family that women/wives domestic labour is exploited because they are structurally made economically dependent on men/husband (Delphy and Leonard, 1992). It postulates that gender differences in tasks allocation result from the socialized gender norms of both partners and/or from their responding to known role expectations in their social environment. In other words, domestic work is presumptively allocated to women/wives and does not have the same exchange values as paid work. The theory implied that gender-role values of women/wives are shaped by their unfavourable labour market experiences compared to their husbands. Gender-role theory is arguably one of the oldest theories in this area of research, starting no later than with sociological functionalism.

2.2.4 Doing gender or Gender performance

Doing gender or gender performance theory (West & Zimmerman, 1987) postulate, that differences, including family tasks, are actively performed constructions of identity differentiation, including the possibility that the very scriptedness of identities varies between the sexes (as, Chodorow, 1978 postulate for mothering and fathering). Doing gender theory provides a gender based explanation conceptualizing the allocation of domestic work as a site for husband and wife to display and reproduce gender (Berk, 1985; Shelton & John, 1996). Hence, wives perform domestic work and husbands avoid domestic work as way to do gender. Conversely, we might expect that because of the gendered

conception of care, wives will do gender by performing most of the domestic work, and husbands will do gender by avoiding domestic work because they are not conceptually expected to.

2.2.5 Resources bargaining theory

The resources bargaining theory is build mainly on Blood and Wolfe's (1965) study in U.S. The theory postulates that the partner with the most resources, usually measured in terms of differences in or ratio of incomes will use these resources as a means to negotiate out of housework. The theory is suggesting that men and women view domestic work negatively and therefore they have a preference for reducing their own share of it in the household. Quite simply, those who have more resources in the family will have more bargaining power than their partner, and hence do less domestic work. The resource bargaining theory suggest, that paid employment, income, education are all an influential factors in determining the division of domestic work because they enhance an individual's level of earnings, i.e. his/her bargaining resources in the negotiation of domestic work allocation. Some researchers have challenged the conceptualization of domestic work as something to be avoided. However, the challenge has been limited to the manner in which the approach is conventionally tested (Thompson & Walker, 1989). Conversely, several researches have not found strong support for the relative resource theory (see Brayfield, 1992; Brines, 1993; Coverman, 1985). For example, Brines (1993) not only found that wives' domestic work time was unaffected by wage differentials, but husbands' domestic work time was actually greater when husbands earned more in comparison to their wives. England (2001), found that support for a curvilinear relationship between men's proportion of earnings and women's domestic work. Whereas a shift from complete dependency to equal earnings decreased women/wives

domestic work time, reaching its lowest point at equal earnings, as women/wives earned more than husbands, women/wives domestic work time rose. The relative theory could not explain why wives who earn more than their husbands still perform more domestic work than husbands (Brines, 1994).

2.3 Antecedents to family management framework

A first set of antecedents we should immediately call to mind when thinking of family management framework is basically socio-demographic characteristics, like gender, education, age, income of partners etc. A review of studies looking at gender differences would require a separate paper (Barnett & Brennan, 1997; Duxbury & Higgins, 1991). Good illustrations of studies linking socio-demographics characteristics with family management framework are studies of Kinnunen & Mauno, 1998; Doucet, 1996; Hochschild, 1989; Gershuny, 2000; Bianchi, 2000; Potuchek, 1997; etc). Potuchek (1997) found that husband's higher earnings exert strong influence on domestic inequalities when decisions are made about child care. Similarly, Gershuny, Godwin and Jones (1994) argue, that time distribution of paid and unpaid work done by husbands and wives becomes more unequal the more fully wives are employed. To draw on Hochschild's (1990) evocative term, employed wives frequently undertake a 'double-shift' – combining paid work with domestic work disproportionately compared to their husbands. Gender differences in employment on the other hand, is better explained by work domain variables for wives, typically, wives fits their employment around the perceived needs of other household and family members much more than their husbands do (Brannan & Moss, 1991; Mansfield and Collard, 1988; Sharpe, 1984).

2.4 Phases of family Life-cycle

One of the less considered antecedents to family management framework is **family life-cycle**. The very fact of aging, especially of infants becoming school age children and thence adolescent and young adults, together with changing patterns of employment is bound to have some impact on the family management framework.

Several studies have documented the influence of family life-cycle stage on family management framework. For example, Kinnunen & Mauno (1998) found that in Finland, that family work management is best explained by what they call family-domain variables (i.e. number of children living at home). In exploring the employment pattern of wives and their husbands in relation to the phases of family life-cycle levy, Widmer, and Kellerhals (2002) found the employment pattern of wives contrary to that of their husbands are clearly related to the phases of family life-cycle. Their analysis showed that the arrival of a child was the main reason for the interruption of wives employment. After the birth of the first child, almost half of the wives quit their employment altogether and another half of the married women reduce their occupational time investment. In the same study, Levy et.al. (2002) explored the relationship between family work hours and family phases for husbands and wives. They found that median number of weekly hours rises in the presence of small child and diminishes slowly in sub-sequent phases. The differential between husband and wife investment into family work depends less on the needs of family life, but statistically speaking, the relationship is stronger for wives than for husbands.

Table 2.1 highlights the key stages in the phases of family life cycle and showed that each stage requires different management structure as its configurations and membership varies. In addition, it shows that husband and wife roles become more polarized over the child-bearing stage and less polarized at pre-child and post-child phases of family life cycle.

Table 2.1 Phases Family Life cycle

Stages	Number of Members	Possible Management frame work
Pre-child	Husband and wife	Less polarized
Pre-school	Husband, wife, and infants of pre-school ages	Most polarized
school	Husband, wife and children of secondary school ages	Polarized
Post-school	Husband, wife, and young adults age 18 and over	Moderately polarized
Post-child	Husband and wife-children all left home	Less polarized
Without children at home	No dependent children	More Interdependence

Note: The table of the phases of family Life-cycle stages is adapted from the work of Zeitlin et al, (1995)

It is important to point out that it will be inappropriate to take the family phases to just represent time in an abstract sense. Instead, it is safe to see it as different constellations with which the couple has to cope, depending mainly on the presence of children and their extra-familial career with respect to school and occupation. Without taking up the perspective of developmental family tasks (Duval, 1957), we have to take into account the many feedbacks on internal family dynamics, and thus the parents’ everyday situation, provoked not only by the individual development , but also by the extra familial institutional career of the children. In this perspective, family-life cycle interpretation of variations between the phases of the family life-cycle must not necessary assume that any individual person living in a given phase has reached this phase by the simple succession implied for the whole family. Put differently, the phases of family life-cycle should be considered as structural considerations normally succeeding each other in a given order, but mainly defined by specific social situations, and not as a mere timing of events in the individual life courses (Levy, 1996; Giele & Elder, 1998).

2.5. Culture

Another antecedent that has been associated with family management framework is **culture**, defined as, a signifying system, symbols, tools and beliefs through which a social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored within a community (Williams, 1981). Culture is a contributing agent to differences in core social roles (Barnett, 1993) for husbands and wives. The nature of each culture i.e. patriarchal-hierarchical or egalitarian tends to affect the role husbands and wives are expected to perform in the home, workplace, and society. Accordingly, husbands attribute considerable importance to paid employment and minor importance to housework. Failure to achieve vocational goal/success is often seen as failure for husbands than for their wives (Levinson, Darrow, Klien, & McKee, 1978). Similarly, it is assumed that husbands and men generally are inept or incapable of domestic work, as a result they are neither required nor expected to participate in housework (Chabot, 1992; Sekaran, 1992). As far as wives are concerned, their core role is expected to focus on family responsibilities (i.e. housework). Eriksson (1968) argued that marriage and motherhood are crucial to the actualization of women's identity. As of late 20th century and early 21st century, even though that majority of women/wives work outside the home, it is still commonly accepted by both men and women that they maintain responsibility for at least one of these core roles (Rossi, 1984; Lewis, 1992; Nordenmark, 2002). In addition, culture can affect the process of negotiations between spouses in terms of their family management framework. For example, in a patriarchal-hierarchical society, in which the husband is expected to make decisions, family work is also expected to be divided along traditional gender lines, such rigid socio-cultural norms often prevents negotiations even when the spouses are interested in a more equal partnership. In contrast, in culture with a more liberal gender role norms, negotiations about family work management structure are likely to be more salient, with each spouse expressing his/her expectations and preferences (Buckley, 1967).

2.6. Perception of Paid Work

The **perception of paid work** by husband and wife tends to play important role on family management framework. It is plausible that the value and importance, which husbands and wives attach to their jobs and earning outside the home, could influence how they view their roles and responsibilities in the family. Several Authors have found evidence of perceived responsibility for breadwinning in 'gender' role ideology (Bernard, 1981; Haas; 1981; Ferree, 1984, 1988; Yeandle, 1984). Brine (1994) suggested that while women/wives earnings are considered vital to the families, wives still perceive their husbands as the main breadwinners and themselves as secondary earners. According to Doucet (1992), women/wives maintain an ambiguous sense of what employment means to themselves and their family. She argues that on the one hand they see paid work as necessary to their well-being and to the household standard of living. On the other hand, they feel their own earnings are secondary and supplementary and their jobs their 'choice' rather than right (Brannen and Moss, 1987, 1991). As Doucet (1992,pp. 115) puts it, "as long as husbands and wives continue to maintain the notion that husbands are the chief breadwinner for the family, domestic and child-care tasks will remain primarily wives' main responsibility."

2.7. Religion

Religious institutions have always played a central role in the lives of mankind, especially in shaping values and beliefs within the families. Although Several writers (such as Levine, 1974; Doherty, 1990; Dizard and Gadlin 1990) notes, that role of organized religion in the developed world in reinforcing family values has been lost for ever to secular agencies, point amplifier by Berger and Berger (1984) when he propose that the earlier fabric of bourgeois society in the United States was characterized by balance, based on religion, between individualism and social responsibility, and between individual liberation and strong communal ties. But that this secularized "hyper-modernity" has been lost to "hyper-irrationality" and hyper-individualism". Conversely, many scholars and

feminists have argued and still arguing that religion, especially Evangelicalism, have contributed in stalling revolution in the family when it comes to gender equality. For example, Ferree (1995) argue that religion (i.e. evangelicalism) is an influential force, which encourages men/husbands towards authoritarian and stereotypical forms of masculinity and attempting to renew patriarchal relationships in the families. Wilcox and Marshall (2005), in their research found that gender traditionalism is higher among committed religious men/husbands than unaffiliated family men/husbands. They also found that committed religious wives reported higher levels of appreciation for their housework than unaffiliated wives.

2.8. Modern Technology

A particular intriguing role is played by **modern technology** in shaping family management framework. Several authors have found that family members behaviours tend to adapt to the physical and social conditions of production (see for example, Wenke 1984; Levine 1974; Miller and West, 1984). For example, the electronic communication have drastically reduced the separation that can be imposed between people by physical distance, physical barriers, and social barriers; it has fostered anonymous intimacy through radio talk shows, advice columns, electronic mail, commercially provided advisory/counseling and other personal services. On-site-day care, personal computers, mobile phones that permit work at home and the lack of defined working days particularly for the higher occupational classes progressively blur the boundaries between workplace and the home. Child-care are now shared between family and day care center, paid temporary mother are readily available, packaged food, washing machine, dishwashers etc. While modern technology may have improved quality of life relatively, it did commercialize many aspects of life that depended previously on much less commercial exchanges within the traditional extended family and

community. Dizard and Gadlin, (1990) note, that the very success of technology or capitalism entails the erosion of the “moral legacy” on which traditional family has rested.

2.9 Previous Relationships

A number of studies have investigated the impact of previous marital relationships on the division of domestic work in current marriages (Ishii-Kuntz and Coltrane, 1992; Sullivan, 1997). The underlying rationale is that couples compare their present situation to a previous relationship as a means of justifying current arrangements, or alternatively negotiating for a different kind of relationship. The concept of a comparison referent stems from the work of Thompson (1991) who suggests that women’s sense of entitlement in terms of domestic work is based on comparisons with other people than their husbands. South & Spitze (1994) take this further by suggesting that “spouses may compare themselves to their own past or projected experiences in another marital status or even to others who not currently married... (South & Spitze 1994, pp. 344)” Ishii-Kuntz and Coltrane (1992), in their research found that husbands in remarried households were significantly “more likely to participate in mundane housework than their first-married counterparts” although the amount of time spent on housework by husbands and wives did not vary across family type (Ishii-Kuntz and Coltrane, 1992, pp.229; see also Pyke and Coltrane, 1996). Sullivan (1997) using the British Household Panel study dataset, found that the proportion of time that partners of women in their second-plus partnerships spend on domestic work is greater than the proportion of time spent by partners of women in their first partnership. She suggests that men who have experienced conflict within previous relationships over domestic division of labour will be more likely to adopt less confliction habits in their new marriage, while women who have experienced unequal division of domestic work in earlier relationships will be more likely to seek new partners who are more involved in domestic work. See also study by Gupta (1999).

Other predictor/antecedents used in investigating the division of 'family-work' include: work autonomy and supervision (Seccombe, 1986), Marital status (Blair, 1994; Denmark et al., 1987; South and Spitze, 1994); Work hours (Presland and Antill, 1987); and number of children (Kamo, 1991).

2.10 Consequences for husbands and wives

The negative effects of changing family roles have extendedly been documented. Examples are more health risks for working parents particularly the wives, lowered performance in the parental role, lowered productivity at work, less life satisfaction, and reduced marital satisfactions (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Pleck, 1985, Small & Riley, 1990; Kelly & Voydanoff, 1985; Voydanoff, 1987). For the men/husbands, the social and moral pressure to adjust their psychology and behaviors at work place to accommodate women and to participate more with domestic work at home it seems, are creating stress or work-family conflicts. In addition, many studies have documented benefits particularly for the working wives. For example, writers (such as Reynolds et al., 2003; La Valle et al., 2002; Mauthner et al., 2001; Backett-Milburn et al., 2001) found in their studies that many wives find benefits from working in paid employment i.e. higher status, conversational topics with partners; and more importantly that their children also benefits. They also found that that stress level in family life from having two earners are most evident in the high proportion of employed mothers (Bell and La Valle, 2003).

The most studied consequence of changing family dynamics is undoubtedly the strain or the mental health experienced by the individual.

Expected to occupy multiple roles has been associated with role strain, psychological distress, and somatic complaints (Cooke & Rousseau, 1984; Frone, Russell & Cooper, 1991, 1992a; Menaghan & Parcel, 1990). Other authors explicitly described work-family conflict

as consequence of job stress (Duxbury & Higgins, 1991; Frone, Russell & Cooper, 1992; Judge, Boudreau & Bretz, 1994; O'Driscoll, Ilgen & Hildreth, 1992; Parasuraman, Greenhouse & Granrose, 1992). Greenglass (1985) found that interferences between job and family life are related to depression, irritation and anxiety in married female managers. Grant-Vallone & Ensher (1998) found that expatriates who experience that their work interferes with their personal life report reduced vitality and depression. Boles, Johnson & Hair (1997) found that work-family conflict is related with emotional exhaustion and job dissatisfaction in salespersons, and that exactly these two consequences are related with the propensity to leave one's job.

A second type of consequence is the direct impact on the family as a unit. Several studies showed that increase in dual-earner workers has indirect but clear impact on families. Work stressors, like long working hours, cause strain in the employee, who take the strain home, where it is often a source of many family problem: Physical (for example, fatigue, headache, tension) or mental (e.g. absentmindedness, worries, irritation). Therefore, the impact is indirect and as it goes via the employee (husband or wife, who feels strained and consequently performs less well in a partner-or parent role (Atkinson, Liem & Liem, 1986).

This indirect consequent often referred as spillover is confirmed by a number of empirical studies (Higgins, Duxbury & Irving, 1992). A good example is the study by Barling & Rosenbaum (1986), they found that overall work experiences are associated significantly with wife abuse. Greenglass, Pantony & Burke (1988) found a clear association between role conflict and marital dissatisfaction, in both men and women. According to Kingston & Nock (1987), the time that couples spend together is determined by the number of hours they work, whereas socio-cultural and life cycle variables have little influence. This is important because the researchers also found a relationship between hours together and marital

satisfaction. Stressors at home and at work and evening mood are correlated in dual-earner couples (Jones & Fletcher, 1996). There are also consequences for children. For example, Goldberg, Greenberg & Nagel (1996) studied the influence of the number of working hours and work involvement of mother's on the development and school performance of their children. They found that a higher number of working hours per week was related with weaker teacher's evaluations of school performance, work habits, and performance related personality traits, but better school performance in girls, and weaker school performance, work habits and self-control in boys. Higher work motivation in the mother was associated with more support of the mother for the performance of the child and a stronger motivation in girls. Crouter, Bumpus, Maguire & McHale (1999) found that the effects of work pressure on adolescent well-being were mediated by parental role overload and parent-adolescent conflict.

Study by Rice, Frone & McFarlin (1992), has shown that conflict between work and non-work has important, indirect consequences for life satisfaction. Kossek & Ozeki's (1998) meta-analytic results show that regardless of the type of measure used, a consistent negative relationship exists among all forms of work-family conflict and job-life satisfaction. Russell & Cooper (1997) longitudinal study of employed parents found that family-work conflicts is related to elevated levels of depression and poor physical health, high incidence of hypertension, and elevated levels of alcohol consumption.

If we combine the above reported findings, we can see that the consequences of the emerging work-family life pattern do not only have negative effect on individuals, family as a unit, and children, but is also influential in determining the possible family management frameworks. For example, several studies have shown that mutual support from family

members, and especially from the spouse, is an essential buffer against some of the negative effects of new work-life highlighted above (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Vanfossen, 1981).

2.11 Typologies

A number of ways has been used in studying family management framework. For example Levy, Widmer, and Kellerhals (2002) explored the impact of family phases on women employment pattern and division of domestic work. Using four types of family phases: pre-child phase; pre-school phase; school phase; post-school phase; and post-school phase, they explored the relations between the phases and couples share of family work. Their study demonstrated a strong relationship between family phases and couples share of family work – wives employment configuration, not husbands showed a strong relationship with the phases of family life, similarly, the association between family work hours and family phases were profound – the medium number of weekly hours rises with presence of small child/children and diminishes slowly in subsequent phases. The differential between wives and husbands investment into domestic work remains consistent and substantial in all five phases.

Another common typology is to identify (clusters of) responsibilities and identifying differences in performances between individuals. For instant (Baxter, 1997; Bird & Scruggs, 1984; Ishii-Kuntz & Coltrane, 1992; Bittman & Lovejoy, 1993; Lamb, 1986; Appong, 1986; Apparala et al, 2003; Kulik & Rayyan, 2003; Aroian et al, 2003) examines the apportionment of domestic tasks and childcare between couples. While many are concerned with fathers involvement in childcare (see for example, Crouter, Perry-Jenkins, Huston & McHale, 1987; Larson, 1993; Marsiglio, 1991; McBride & Mills, 1993; see also Perk, 1995; and Pleck, for reviews; Gerson, 1993; Furstenberg, 1995; Milkie et al, 2002).

Another interesting typologies are: the impact of the division of domestic and childcare tasks on marital satisfaction or marital conflicts (McHale and Crouter, 1992; Blair, 1993; Perry-Jenkins and Folk, 1994; Greenstein, 1996b; Kluwer et al, 1996; Dillaway and Brown 2001); health and psychological well-being (Glass and Fujimoto, 1994; Baruch and Barnett, 1986; Aroian, 2001; Black, Markides & Miller, 1998); perception of the fairness of the division of domestic and childcare tasks and marital stability (Olah, 2001b, Greenstein, 1996b; Sanchez and Gager, 2000).

Other interesting typologies used in studying family- work are Time-use or time-budget. The typology involves measurement of amount of time spend in performing domestic task by husbands and wives. Gershuny et al. (1992; 1994) in one of his time-budget study measured changes in the of division domestic tasks between working husbands' and wives' by re-analyzing a set of studies carried out at different times, all of which looked at 'time use' in performing domestic work. He tested the "dual-burden" hypothesis, which states that even as wives enter the labour market and take on full time employment they [wives] continue to carry the burden of domestic work (Hochschild, 1989). He found that over the period 1974/75 to 1987 that the proportion of domestic work performed by husbands has risen in relation to the increased paid work by wives and increased total work by spouses.

For more research on time-use typology, we refer to Pahl (1984); Hochschild (1989); Pleck (1985); Buber et al. (2002); Haas (1981); Shamir (1986); Tavecchio et al. (1984); Geerken & Grove (1983); Coverman and Shelley (1986).

2.12 Measures

Throughout the history of family management framework research different measures for distribution of responsibilities have been developed and used. But serious efforts to evaluate and validate these measures following psycho-social techniques and criteria have been generally lacking. Similarly, different approaches have been used in obtaining information. Researchers have been preoccupied with constructing models, linking antecedents and consequences of family management framework for individuals. They have been less worried about the measures used and have not subjected them to a rigorous psycho-social process. With this I mean cautiously defining the underlying constructs, systematically generating, evaluating items that are pertinent to these constructs, purifying and validating the measures both in terms of internal consistence, external validity, and realism. Most researchers tend to restrict themselves to using a popular measures and reporting the internal consistency of the measures. Some of the measures and information collection on family management framework I found were:

1. Mann-Kanovitz (1977) and validated by Kulik (2001), 19-item scale to measure division of domestic work. It is based on indicators such as who performs a given task between husband and wife.
2. Kulik (1995), 6-items scale to measure attitudes towards gender roles in such areas as women working outside the home, father's and mother's responsibility for childcare, and family income.
3. Paternal Index of children Inventory by Radin & Goldsmith, (1985), modified by Frank and Livingston (2000).
4. Paternal Responsibility scale by McBride & Mills (1993). Both PICCI and PRS scales are based on indicators such as couple's involvement with their children (i.e.

taking responsibility for the day-to-day welfare and needs of the child, being available but not in direct contact with the child etc.). These measures were used by Nangle (2003).

5. Beliefs concerning the Parental Role Scale (BCPR) by Bonney and Kelly (1996). The 26-items scale measures an individual's beliefs about each partner's role in childcare.
6. Self-Perception of the parental Role (SPPR) by MacPhee, Benson and Bullock (1986). The measure has been used to measure identification with parental role such as how parents feel they perform on 4-items scale of the parent role such as satisfaction, competence, investment, and integration. This measure was used by Ihinger-tallman et al. (1995).
7. Kalmijn (1999), 14 item-scales to measure couple's involvement in the domestic work including child-care.
8. Pleck (1979) and Pleck, Staines & Lang (1980), 8 –item scale to measure work-family conflict based on indicators such as excessive time spend at work, schedule conflicts, fatigue or irritability. This measure was used by Duxbury and Higgins, (1991); Ahmad (1996).

National surveys:

9. In the US, the National Longitudinal Studies of Young Men, Young Women, and Mature Women included questions on 'cooking, laundry, childcare, dishes, yard work, grocery etc (as reported in Goldscheider and Waite, 1991), National Survey of Families and household also asked questions on cooking, washing dishes, laundry etc. Ishii-Kuntz and Coltrane (1992) used the measures to compare housework patterns between first married couples and remarried couples. In Austria, the Negotiating the Life Course Survey (NLC) (1997) asked 17 separate questions about

household labour; in Canada, the General Social Survey on Family and friends asked questions pertaining to household chores such as, meal preparation, meal clean-up, housecleaning and laundry, house maintenance and outside work i.e. repairs, painting, carpentry etc. for each chore, respondents were asked three questions: who in the household helped with, how much of the work each person did, and who was primarily responsible, Baxter (2002), used the NLC measures to study impact of marital status on division of Household labour; the Australia Bureau of Statistic's 1997 Time use survey asked questions on time spent on various domestic work e.g., food and drink preparation, clean-up, laundry and cloth care, cleaning, grounds and animal care, home maintenance, household management, purchasing of goods and services etc. (using time diary, open ended questions). Hook (2003) used this measure to study division of household labour. In Britain, Social and economic Life Initiative Survey (SCELI) and the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) contain household data pertaining to the division of domestic labour in the household. In the BHPS, housework is referred as manual unpaid labour at home such as washing, laundry, ironing, cooking, cleaning etc. These measures have been used by Layte (1999), he used SCELI for his study of division of domestic labour, Laurie and Gershuny (2000) used the BHPS to study time use for domestic labour; Sullivan (2000), used both BHPS and SCELI to compare time use in domestic chores.

2.13 Discussion and Suggestions for future research

Although the studies mentioned in the literature reviews above obviously have contributed to our understanding of the predictors and consequences of family management framework as result of increase in wives/women participation in the paid employment, we still have along way to travel to develop a complete and subtle view on

the matter. I will point at some weaknesses of research on family management framework, and suggest avenues for future research especially, as it relates to immigrants and other marginalized groups.

Research on Family-work

1. One striking characteristics of the family management framework field is the persistence of what Kanter (1977) described as **myth of separate worlds of paid work (employment) and unpaid work (i.e. domestic)**. She suggested that sociologist rarely studied unpaid work and paid work together. Earlier, several researchers (such as, Rapoport, 1971; Bailyn, 1970; Pleck, 1970) have argued that family demands interfere with both family life and work particularly, for married couples with dependent children. Despite the obvious flaws in this model, many recent researchers still use similar approach in their conceptualization of family-work roles. For sure, the model have provided some insights, but there is a danger that the model have become a political playing field (Ramazonoglou, 1992, pp.207) which allows socio-psychological researchers on family management framework to gloss over constituent processes. In other word, domestic work and paid employment are being treated as independent sub-systems with autonomous boundaries or what Doucet (1991) described as public/private sphere. The failure to take into consideration the interpenetrating nature of these roles has often led to dispare findings. Similarly, the continued verbiage of monolithic images of hegemonic masculinity (Carrigan et al., 1987) and pulling apart of cultural definition of sexes has not helped. While these arguments offer a rationale for conceptualizing the possible uneven relationships between the sexes in relation to family management,

the arguments tended to ignore the complexity hidden in the intersection of gender, work, and family.

2. With few exceptions, majority of family management framework research has been dominated by human capital theory, time constraint, gender-role theory (undoubtedly the most cited theory by family-work researchers), doing-gender, and resources bargaining theory. Although these theories offer a rationale for the antecedents and consequences of uneven division of family-work roles, but not for actual behaviour, interaction between the actors, or prioritizing in case of work-family conflict. An important shortcoming of the above mentioned theories is that they are developed in a different period and several changes has taken place since hence, they are not capable of offering an encompassing theory for a strong conceptual framework.
3. One of the clear conclusions we can make from the above literature review is an **over-emphasis on quantitative, cross-sectional studies**, despite the fact that this type of studies are associated with methodological difficulties. Family management framework is a dynamic, complex phenomenon, evolving over time in the interaction between various actors and events. This contrasts with the limited number of studies that take a longitudinal perspective at how family management framework is evolving in their description of antecedents, and the consequences. I suggest therefore that more mixed model (i.e. qualitative and quantitative) and longitudinal approaches are used in conducting research on family management framework.
4. It interesting to notice that only a minority of researchers have considered studying **paired-couples instead of individuals**. Many of the critical events that were described by the respondents in the qualitative study pointed at the fact that work-family roles/conflicts is basically a dynamic process between two individuals that

are mutually interdependent and adaptive. For example, Hammer, Allen & Grigsby (1997) found important cross-over effects of work-family conflict between couples and concluded their study by suggesting that future research in this area need to use couple as a unit of analysis. Many scholars in the areas of family-work conflict research who are studying cross-over effects are beginning to use couples as a unit of analysis (Greenhaus et al., 1989; Gupta & Jenkins, 1985; Jones & Fletcher, 1993; Parasuraman et al., 1992; Western & Etzion, 1995). Majority of scholars in the family management framework domain are yet to grasp the importance of investigating couples. Apart from cross-over effects one should take into consideration other interaction processes that can moderate or reinforce a given family management structure, like mutual support, emotional dependence of one partner or rivalry.

5. Some groups particularly, in multi-ethnic societies deserve extra attention. Groups like immigrants, expatriates, and disabled people because we can expect, as I pointed out earlier, that these groups may be more affected by the social changes, which could result to them adopting a pragmatic family management framework. Yet, studies of family management framework in these specific groups are thin. The bulk of the accumulated research findings are concentrated on North-America, and Anglo-Saxon context. Bearing in mind the heterogeneity in social norm and interpretations in groups outside this Westerners, and the suggestion that institutional pressure play an important role in the adoption of a given family internal relationships (Ingram & Simons, 1995). We can seriously question the validity of generalisability of the findings to non-westerners. Another point is that different cultures are characterized by different work and family values, practices and habits.

6. Something that strikes me is the interchanging use of household and family by some authors, even though that the composition of the two set of units are conceptually different both in terms emotional interactions and relationships. A household comprises a number of people or families sharing a resident, while family is a social unit which operates within a shared cultural and political arena. Both of these units possess varied internal dynamics and varied configuration hence, the possibility of them adapting a separate family management frameworks, and experiencing varied antecedents and consequences. Quite simply, the internal structure of the two groups is different. This calls therefore, for the researchers to be cautious when using the two terms in their analysis. I suggest that scholars working in the family management framework domain should clearly distinguish between the household and family as a unit, and to be aware of the possible confusions that can arise when the two terms are mixed without adequate explanation.
7. Majority of studies that have developed a typology of couples did this in terms of socio-demographic characteristics differences. Only few have tried to find differences between couples in terms of how they perceive family management framework in their respective family, and how they deal with work-family role conflict. This can be very valuable information, especially when we are interested in developing strategies that can help families achieve the possible family-work management structure. There is no question, that the pedagogical importance of such typology can be very high, as they can serve as a basis for developing policies and successful family management strategies
8. Science in general seeks for universal laws when studying phenomena. I believe the same goes for some scholars studying family management framework. Still, only a

few researchers have made a serious effort to test models and relationships on a cross-ethnic and cross-cultural level. Most studies tend to concentrate on a relatively comparable population and rightly use measures suitable to gain insight within the population. Thus, it is not surprising that tools and models lack suitability in application to other populations.

9. One danger in developing a measure lies in using either too many variables or too few variables. Some researchers used only few variables to measure division of family work, which can hardly be called a reliable measure. Others used very extensive measures, which can create confusion to the respondent. A notable shortcoming of most measures is the failure to include all the strands of activities that combined to make-up 'family work' i.e. domestic work, child-care, house services, and the main provider of family management finance. And the failure to give all strand equal weight in the analysis.
10. To round up this discussion of limitations, I would like to mention one variable that seem to be missing in most studies on family management framework – that variable is **individuals or groups perception of their environment**. This can be more pertinent to a certain group such as immigrants, disabled people, and expatriates. In terms of human ecological approach (Bronfenbrenner, 1986), understanding of human development, feelings, and behaviour must consider the context in which the individual perceives his environment, how they interact with their environment, and how their environment might have influenced their behaviour. Bronfenbrenner highlighted four overlapping subsystems: Microsystems (e.g., home, school), Meso-system (linkage between micro system), and exosystem (context to which the individual has indirect linkage), and Macro-system (cultural, economic, and political

“blueprints” of a society). The most important and largely neglected sub-system is the Macro system, because how a group or individual perceive the cultural, economic, social, and political norms in their immediate environment can influence the individual or group behaviour including their family management framework preference. Surprisingly, these variables are rarely taken into consideration when measuring family management framework particularly, among immigrants, expatriates, and disabled people. The point will undoubtedly become a topic of interest for students of family management structure among marginalized population in the near future.

To conclude, research on the family management framework especially, among black African immigrant etc. is still in its infancy. This is clear from the fact that no previous research was found which specifically investigated these groups. For sure, there is considerable amount of mentioned in the business press however, more rigorous study models considering a wider antecedents, outcomes, and context are still needed.

CHAPTER THREE

The Research Design, Methods and Stages of research

3.1 Introduction

This chapter details methodology and methods used in the studies of immigrant Nigerian dual-earner professional family management framework. Researchers have ethical and professional obligations to produce research of a high standard. The constituent of quality in research seem to vary between researchers, thus leaving readers unsure on how meaning the research findings are. This often comes about because of inadequate consideration of the theoretical framework guiding the study. Many authors fail to consider the theoretical underpinnings of the methodology they chose and the link between the methods employed. These in my view, need to be set-out in a formats that is accessible and open to scrutiny, as doing so will enable the readers to assess the trustworthiness and robustness of the research findings. This research aim is to explore how the immigrant Nigerian Dual-earner professional couples with dependent children manage their family-work roles and the context in which they do so. Thus, to achieve these twin aims, I need to develop a package of both ‘tools’ and ‘philosophical’ discourse (i.e. methodology), as well as practical ‘tools’ suitable to make sense of the empirical reality (such as, methods). This chapter outlines the methods and methodology used including, the decision trail. The first section state researchers, frame of reference; this is followed by discussion of the research design and the rationale for adopting mixed research methods starting with a brief discussion of the characteristics of mixed research methods paradigms. The second section, discuss development of the research question, sampling, data

collection, analysis and credibility of the researcher starting with the qualitative methodology. In all the discussions, the rationale/decision trail relating to the theoretical, methodological and analytic choices were address. Finally, to increase understanding, I discuss each of the methodology and methods strand separately.

3.2 Researchers' Frame of Reference

To set the scene or context of exploration of the hermeneutic phenomenology strategy this section introduces the research players.

In this research journey of exploration of family management framework , Vincent (myself) a Nigerian Immigrant and a doctoral candidate set out with a passion for understanding how the immigrant Nigerian professional dual-earner couples manages family work and the relationship between their immigrant status, sending context, and perception of their present environment to the prevalent management framework. Dr Bell, my principal supervisor none-Nigerian, married with dependent children, provides support, critical appraisal and feedback, and a facilitator by encouraging broadening the context of the study, as well as focusing the research topic on a defined family life cycle. Another key player is professor Dench who also is a none-Nigerian, married with grown-up children, acts as my associate supervisor, Dench plays the role of a mentor, 'critical companion' i.e. assisting in debriefing and review of thesis writing, he also help to bring the research scope to a manageable size. Friend and peers serves as reference groups for the research. They provided unbiased critiques and assisted in pointing me to where to find participants for the focus group/pilot study.

The research participants shared both their experiences with me.¹ They were all permanent residents in Britain, all born in Nigeria, in full time employment, and have dependent child/children sharing resident, are all married and share residency with their spouses

3.3 Multi methods Research Design

Research design is concerned with turning questions into specific projects (Robson, 1993. pp. 38). This is crucial important for any inquiry. Multi-Method or Mixed-Method² research design is a recent paradigm often refers to as “third methodological movement” that fit into the framework of the “pragmatist paradigm” (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003, pp.679)

Multi-Method research design is a general type of research in which qualitative and quantitative methods, techniques, or other paradigm characteristics are mixed in one overall study (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). There are two main strands of multi-method research strategy: mixed methods versus mixed model research. The mixed method research is research in which the researcher uses the qualitative research paradigm for one phase of a research study and quantitative research paradigm for another phase of the study. The mixed model research is research in which the researchers mix both qualitative and quantitative research approaches within one stage of the study or across two stages of the research process. For example, researcher might conduct a survey using a questionnaire that comprises closed-ended or quantitative type items as well as several open-ended or qualitative type items. In this research, I used the mixed method paradigm. The following tools provided by

¹ The names of the reference group and the participants are withheld due to confidentiality agreements.

² Multi-Methods and Mixed-method research design would be used to mean the same throughout.

Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998), for choosing a research design helped to guide my selection:

1. Is the purpose of the research confirmatory or exploratory?
2. Are the data available qualitative or quantitative?
3. Does the desired analysis call for narrative or statistical inference?

This research is concerned with gaining understanding of salient family management framework among the Nigerian dual-earner professional families as immigrants in London. In addition, I am interested in understanding the impact of several factors such as sending-context, acculturation, and their socio-cultural ideologies etc. on their well-being. I want to allow husbands and wives to talk and answer questions about their particular situations in their own words; to collect data, which will enable me to generalise on the pertinent family management; and to gain insight through husband and wife factors that drives the salient family management framework. The information required to meet these objectives cannot be adequately realise with pure design i.e. purely quantitative or purely qualitative research design. Hence, I decided that I needed a theoretical framework (methodology) and a technique (methods) that is capable of addressing all the objectives set out above. In addition, reflecting upon the above concerns and interests, I was clear that the mixed research design is most appropriate to be employed together with extensive literature reviews because, a) it enhances complementarities of different strands of the research objectives.

Since the beginning of 1980's, methodological literatures have been pre-occupied with debate on whether quantitative and qualitative research methodologies are mutually exclusive or not mutually exclusive (see for example, Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Smith, 1983a and 1989; Smith & Heshusius, 1986; Bryman, 1988; Hammersley, 1992b). There is no need here for a review of studies on

merit/disadvantages of combined use of qualitative and quantitative research; as such, a review would require a separate paper. Harding (1987) suggests that the preoccupation with methods has switched attention from more interesting aspects of the research processes, particularly from differences between ‘method’, ‘methodology’ and ‘epistemology’. When methodology and methods are discussed, they are discussed in relation to epistemology as this refers to the study of grounds and validity of scientific and other knowledge. In a more analytic definition given by Stanley and Wise (1990), epistemology is “a theory of knowledge which addresses central questions such as who can be a ‘knower’, what can be known, what constitutes and validates knowledge, and what the relationship is or should be between knowing and being (that is, between epistemology and ontology)” (pp.26).

Research design that combines quantitative and qualitative methods in a complementary manner as I plan in my opinion is the most powerful armoury capable of helping a researcher of immigrant families to gain better understanding about their private lives. I am confident that by combining Heideggerian phenomenological approach, tempered by Gadamer’s philosophical hermeneutics (Heidegger, 1962, Gadamer, 1976) with survey approach using self-completed questionnaire I would gain access into the mental world of the participants (McCracken, 1991, pp.9), uncover accurate, and inclusive account that are based on their personal experiences (Burgess, 1984; Oakley, 1981; De Vault, 1990; Finch, 1984). In addition, as I have mentioned elsewhere, establishing trust with the respondent was also considered important in this research (Oakley, 1981; Finch, 1984; Reinharz, 1992) as well as avoiding obliterating “scientific rationale” (Hammersley, 1992). So the multiple research method of data collection was chosen to best serve the research aims and perspectives.

3.4 Development of the Qualitative Research Tools

This section describes the development of the qualitative methodology from inception through to the data collection phase and discusses the fundamental decisions taken during that time. While preparing to research the Nigerian immigrant professional dual-earner families with dependent children living in London I undertook a review of the existing literatures. A large number of articles on family management framework were found but there was an absence of both qualitative and quantitative research on the Nigerian immigrant professional families living in London that specifically investigated their family management framework. The literature search included all available sources of data, websites, academic journals, ‘grey’ literatures, newspaper articles etc. Reflecting the level of available knowledge on the immigrant Nigerian professionals, the research question/focus was developed in an inductive manner and the questions ‘what are the experiences of immigrant Nigerian professional living in London’ and ‘why is a given family management framework salient from their perspectives as immigrant and dual-earners?’ The validity of research idea can be enhanced when researcher can demonstrate that little is known about the topic (Field & Morse, 1994) or that the subject has not been investigated in their own discipline (Stern, 1980). This study was undertaken against a background of little or no research on immigrant Nigerian professional families in Britain or indeed anywhere else. Before turning to how I plan to answer the two questions and a review of potential methodologies, I feel that it is necessary to explain further, why we need to gain understanding of the two questions set out above using mixed-methods approach, and to discuss more the theoretical framework. Starting with perception of self in an environment, according to ecological understanding of transitions as both the consequences and originators of developmental change in adults (Bronfenbrenner,

1979), immigrating and finding oneself in a new environment may have an influence on their behaviours. For example, immigrants who are well acculturated (acculturation as defined by Berry (1997) is a social and psychological process that is characterised by immigrants' acceptance of new mainstream culture), is more likely than not to adopt the culture of the mainstream. Conversely, if an immigrant perceived the structural setting (structural setting in this context is factors external to the community that may cause them to believe that they are discriminated against etc.), they may not adapt to the mainstream culture. In this case, they may not adopt the family management framework that is prevalent among the mainstream society.

Although scholars have researched family management framework for over three decades there are striking discrepancies in their conclusions as to why a particular management structure is still dominant. This is partly because very few researchers attempted to use qualitative approach to obtain information from the families. In this research I plan to gain knowledge of why a particular management structure is dominant among this sub-group of immigrant Nigeria families by asking for their views.

The key elements of this approach are the fusion of horizons, the hermeneutic cycle, and the temporality of truth and dialogue. The horizon or prejudice that each researcher brings to a study are influential on the research process and require reflection (Gadamer, 1976). These are historically and culturally produced understanding that can influence interpretations of research finding. Horizons comprise pre-understanding or bias that enable us to make sense of events and people (Gadamer, 1976). Researcher cannot eliminate their experiences, which is inextricably linked to interpretation (Thompson, 1990, pp.246). Readers, as interpreter themselves, participates in the process of interpretation by bringing their own horizons to the

work. The themes emerging from the text therefore, may be different for each reader but, critically, although readers may not share the author's interpretation, they should be able to follow the pathway that led to the interpretation given (Benner, 1994).

Hermeneutic cycle is a metaphor for explaining the analytic movement between the whole and the part, in which each gives the other meaning (Heidegger, 1962).

Analysis involves a prolonged period of reflection on both parts of the data and the whole, in order to situate the meaning derived. Researchers engaged in this process recognise that this stage must end, but that further analysis would yield changes in interpretation (Ormiston & Schrifly, 1990). Thus, researcher holds a temporal understanding of data, recognising that research represents a temporary coalescence of views about a phenomenon or experience (Faulconer & Williams, 1985). Each person's interpretation of text will change over time as his or her horizon evolves.

In addition, to the principles set out by the theoretical framework, I drew heavily on the five points identified by Guba and Lincoln (1989) as constituting quality in research. These principles reflected the key elements of the complete methodological approach. The trustworthiness of a study can be endorse if: a) the researcher describes and interprets their experiences (Credibility); b) readers considers that the study is transferable to another context and are able to follow the decision trail of the research throughout the study (dependability); c) finding no ambiguity about choices made (Guba & Lincoln, 1989); and d) the researcher shows how interpretations have arrived at during enquiry (Confirmability). Findings should be guided by attention to praxis and reflective, understanding how one's experiences and background affect what one understands and how one act in the world, including during inquiry. These criteria contribute to the 'trustworthiness' of data (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, pp. 76-77).

I now turn to how I would answer the research question, and a review of methodologies potential. A quantitative approach would have required a focus on specific aspects of immigrant's experiences and my own view on the nature of it. A questionnaire would have produced the depth of information sought but would have been inappropriate for exploring sensitive topics, such as racism and family relationships. Although I had established that qualitative approach was more appropriate, further consideration of the many methodologies within the qualitative paradigm was needed. I considered both the potentials and limitations of each methodology. A hermeneutic phenomenology approach was chosen. I felt that hermeneutic phenomenology is highly suited to answering 'what' and 'how' questions about human experiences and concerns without directly aiding prediction (Leonard, 1984). It can provide a clearer understanding of what the issues and concern are, and thus help to anticipate future events, and can develop understanding of the significance of an event or topic to the person. For sure, this approach is time-consuming in terms of data collection and in-dept analysis of and is, therefore, expensive and it involves an emotional investment, because of the depth of data shared. Foreshadowed understandings, including one's preconceptions and prejudices, must be acknowledged as clearly as possible. Many have criticized interpretative work for being biased toward the investigator's knowledge and experience (Tripp-Reimer & Cohen, 1987). Moving too far out from the hermeneutic circle can often de-conceptualise the interpretation from the original text. Hermeneutic phenomenology attempts to address this by remaining close to the original text and uncovering biases for the examination of others. There is the need and pressure within the academic community to go beyond description, in order to contribute towards the development of theoretical framework. However, there is a need also for the researcher to balance

against Heidegger warning, “when ever a phenomenology concept is drawn from primordial sources, there is a possibility that it may degenerate if communicated in the form of an assertion. It is understood in an empty way and is passed on, losing its indigenous character and becoming a free-floating thesis....The difficulty of this kind of research lies in making it self-critical in a positive sense (Heidegger, 1962, pp. 60-61). Should an interpretative account loses its contextuality and temporality and operates beyond its original context, it may reduce to what Dreyfus (1991) refer to as ‘levelling to banality’ and then becoming mere assertion (pp.276).

Explaining the strengths and limitations of the methodology sets out the methodological horizons under which the researcher is working, and provides the reader with information to determine the dependability of the choice/choices made.

3.4.1 Sampling approach, recruitment, and question structure

Theoretical sampling approach was not appropriate in these studies, as a grounded theory approach was not taken. The aim was not therefore to sample because of concepts that have theoretical relevance (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) but to gain variation in the sample. A purposive sampling was chosen. The reason for chosen purposive sampling was to ensure that only Nigerian immigrant professional dual-earner couples who met the stated criteria were captured. I recruited participants through a variety of means including word of mouth, announcement in the local churches, and community organisations. Through phone calls and face-to-face meetings, I arrange to meet each participants who expressed interest while simultaneously establishing whether they meet all the criteria (see table below), and degrees of interest in participation. A decision to stop recruitment was made when 18 people or 9 couples were confirmed. The decision reflected in part, the need to achieve a balance between time available for the fieldwork, the resources available to me, and the appreciation of the depth and

associated time needed to undertake analysis. In addition, theoretical saturation is not sought in hermeneutic studies as the temporality of truth is recognised. The question was deliberately broad and a progressively intense focus on specific aspects of the lived experiences was not sought.

3.4.2 Procedure use to improve the quality of data

Altogether thirty-six interviews were collected over thirteen month's time span; these involved up to two interviews with each participants. A longitudinal approach recognises that accounts (Cornwell, 1994) are more likely to be elicited from participants through multiple interviews, and allows the researcher to revisit issues and discuss new areas, which may have emerged from the earlier data. It also gives the participants the opportunity to discuss further areas that they may have forgotten or decided withheld during the earlier interview. Interviews were face-to-face and were conducted at the participants' convenience, some participants elected to be interviewed with their partners (four couples); the participants also decided the location. Majority of the interviews took place in the home environment and during evenings and weekends, lasting on average one to one and half hours. In all cases participants provided verbal consent and interviews were not tape-recorded instead notes were taking throughout. More importance was placed on the convenience and comfort of the participants. The need to collect sincere and honest data was felt to outweigh the possible accurate account that can be gained by using tape recorder. Use of the spoken word by these participants as the source of data did not require my judgement of what constitute experience, as would be the case if observational approaches had been used or if I had used tape-recorder to record the interviews. In addition, the note enabled me to read back to the participants what I have written and asked for their comments, this further adds to the authenticity and credibility of the

data collected. Only one participant asked for a sentence to be taken out from the note taken after her interview. Comments made by the participants were all points of clarification that help to enhance my understanding of the text and so contribute to fusion of horizon (Geanellos, 1998).

Management of the research interview, in terms of interview style and question asked, will influence the data collected. According to van Manen (1997), “the art of the researcher in the hermeneutic interview is to keep the question (of the meaning of the phenomenon) open, and to keep him or herself and interviewee oriented to the substance of the thing being questioned” (pp.66). Openness is critical and the exchange may be entirely open, with few direct questions asked (Koch, 1996). Geertz (1973) described this process as getting at what participants really experienced, from the inside out, not simulations of what they thought they experienced. Kvale (1996) cautions, however, that it is important to look for not only what is ‘said’, but what is said ‘between the lines’. In this study, participants were encouraged to describe their experiences and assured that no subject was trivial. A conversational interview format (Fontana and Frey, 2000), was chosen for this study, to foster flexibility and exploration of the topic area. Open-ended questions were used to encourage reflection and rich description of ideas and experience. A common line of starting question or seeking further elaboration was used: ‘can you describe to me your general experience with your employers, government etc’? On the other hand ‘can you describe to me most how the family management practice you have adopted in your family is better’? No further guidance was given throughout the interview beyond this starting questions, and the participants covered the topics they felt were relevant and in their own order. Occasionally, participants were invited to elaborate on their answers using examples and experiences.

The disadvantage of using an unstructured approach was that not all participants covered the same area adequately, and analysis was more time-consuming because of the unstructured nature of the data.

Finally, it is worth mentioning the features of the circumstances under which the data was collected. One couples insisted that they what their children to be in bed before the interview could start as they do not want them to hear some of the things they are going to say, when I pressed them to tell me why, the wife said to me that “she does not went to put wrong idea into their head”. Another person told me that she would prefer to have the interview without the wife presence because he does not want her to know how he is feeling about their continue leaving in U.K. Issues such as these were noted in my note and the impact considered when analysing the data.

3.4.3 Data Analysis

The nature of data analysis is at the heart of much controversy (Pollock, 1991; Patton, 2002). This is because a) the process of data analysis can proceed in a number of ways in qualitative research; b) there is issue of dependence on the analyst’s insights and conceptual capabilities; c) and there are issues with ambiguity about the process of analysis. For example, a suspicion may arise that data have been shaped, knowingly or otherwise, by predispositions and bias. An attempt to bracket out the researcher’s influences, as Husserlian or transcendental phenomenology, is antithetical to the generation of understanding. The researcher’s awareness of their predispositions and making biases as explicit as possible is a way of countering the impact on data analysis.

A number of principles guided my data analysis: working towards meaning through a structured process that is predetermined, yet influenced by the data; engaging in a process of moving from the part to the whole, allowing emerging data to remain open

to divergent interpretations, and recognising the temporality of truth and horizons of the interpreter and the text. I engaged in a systematic search for alternative themes, divergent patterns and rival explanations of the data. The purpose was not to disapprove the alternatives but to look for data that supported alternative explanations. As pattern and trends emerged, attention was given to findings that both did and did not support these, and individuals accounts were allowed to be hard. This approach to analysis “adds credibility by showing the analyst’s authentic search for what makes most sense rather than marshalling all the data towards a single conclusion” (Patton, 2002, pp.555). In examining the findings of a qualitative study, the reader begins by taking each claim made and asking how plausible it is. A key area is the provision of sufficient contextual evidence to support it (Patton, 2002). In my analysis, evidence was provided through the extracts from the participants’ accounts. In presenting these extracts, I considered three potential sources of error that may dissipate the credibility of the data provided:

- A) The possible effects of the researcher’s presence on the account,
- B) The nature of the phenomenon being described and the implication of this for the likelihood of error,
- C) My reporting process itself, including the possible relevance of what has been missed out.

A presented quotation reflects a proportion of the evidence available to support a claim and they are taken out of the context of the interview, and inclusion is driven by my choice, and the word limit was dictated by the thesis requirement. Finally, as many quotations as possible were included, and these were of sufficient length to maintain the context of the information presented.

3.4.4 Credibility of the researcher

Hermeneutic phenomenology recognises the influence of the researcher on the conduct and presentation of a study. Although, other qualitative research approaches such as ethnography and symbolic interactionism also recognise this, in hermeneutics, researcher's ability to describe and interpret their experiences is an integral part of the research process (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). The potential effect of the researcher on data collection is often referred to as the problem of reactivity (Hammersley, 1990). The researcher must be aware of the potential effects of their personal and social characteristics on data collection (Goffman, 1959). Literature that reports the process of the qualitative researcher's experiences as data is rare (Koch, 1994). Hermeneutic phenomenology relies on the self-awareness of the researcher to record their influences. It is vital therefore, that some information about my experiences that might have influences on the data collection is highlighted. From the outset, my background was set out, thus allowing readers to judge the credibility of the research in relation to intellectual rigour, professional integrity and methodological competence, and the influence of my background and experience on my approach. Secondly, my self-awareness was disclosed further by keeping a diary in which the process of interactions was noted (Koch, 1994). The diary acted as a record of events and how my 'horizon, was developing, and provided material for reflection. To illustrate this concept, some examples from my diary are set out below, under the heading of experiences and bias.

3.4.5 Experiences

I explored my experiences whilst conducting the interviews, noting down the nature of interactions between the participants and myself. The main issues that arose more

often during the interviews were, a) maintaining a non-master-servant relationship, b) ensuring confidentiality, and c) not intervening or try to influence participants' responses. Throughout the interviews, I was aware of the need for me to maintain the confidentiality of participants. Sometimes, innocent comments or facial expressions could have betrayed this, for example, an interviewee could say, "African men like to be served by their wives or men do not like their authorities to be challenged; what do you think after all you are an African man"? It would have been easy to give away potentially important information through facial expression or head movement. In seeking information or assurance, participants commonly want to know what other participants said to me, for example, 'I don't know what [my wife/husband] or what other people might have said to you but....' Alternatively, 'what have I found out so far in the interview, are our views similar/different from the view of other couples that you have interviewed'? I felt that a degree of reciprocity was important and recognised that feedback was vital. Hence I gave a broad picture of my findings, without any specificity. For example, I would say 'so far responses have been very interesting and diverse as expected; your responses are not out of place at all'.

3.4.6 Bias

I acknowledge in my diary my cultural, personal, and professional background (Gadamer, 1976) and noted the impact of my 'horizon'. I recorded the ways in which my being of similar culture and ethnic labelling helped me to negotiate access to potential participants. Familiarity with the participant language and norms allowed me to follow participant's detailed account of their experiences, and use of expressions that are unique to Nigerians. Following the first interviews, I noted down my reaction to strong emotions expressed by the participant in explaining their experiences. Literature presenting survey data on the experiences of immigrants in Britain do not

convey its real psychological effects as communicated by this participant. In my diary, I noted:

“I felt as if he was using the interview to release pains that have built up inside him. He was so sure and so convinced that the whole British system is against him, [perhaps I could asked him also what he think of Nigerian government and Nigerians, maybe his experiences might be worse). Could be that I am over reacting or rather too horrified to accept the level of anger that this person has expressed, or am I using my own personal experience to judge him? [Surely, that would be wrong] In any case, he was only presenting his experiences which was what I asked him to do”

The impact on people of name calling by non-ethnic minority surprised me also, and I wrote in my dairy after my second interview with a couple who included among other things in their experiences the use of term such as, [coloured] when referring to them by their managers and sometimes their colleagues at work:

“The hurt and stress that others can cause with [presumably, innocent] use of terminology is profound. This couple felt very hurt. It seems as if they have internalised and have taken it as evidence of dislike by the mainstream population....perhaps it is time that managers and public should be educated on the effects of their behaviour...”

My background and training in socio-psychology taught me to recognize that these people are deeply hurt. Inherent in this is my acceptance, without prejudice, of what the participants says. A later review of the notes helped to show my horizon was operated during and shortly after the interview, and prompted reflection on the horizon of the text and the prejudice that I might have brought, and continue to bring, to the analysis.

3.5 Ensuring Quality

In hermeneutic phenomenology (as with other approaches), there is the need to demonstrate attention to issues of quality. Three criteria were used in this research to

demonstrate quality: Credibility, rigour, and ethical behaviour. Following are explanation of each of these criteria and how they were used in this research.

3.5.1 Credibility

Credibility refers to the truth, value, or believability of the findings (Leininger, 1994).

An important way to achieve credibility is to enact the research philosophy, in other words, to use the method as logic of justification to inform method as technique. In this research, this goal was sought by structuring research actions through a hermeneutic phenomenology circle informed by the underpinning metaphors and the philosophical assumptions. The research methods must also be credible in terms of suitability of the chosen paradigm. There are a number of aspects of credibility (including authenticity, plausibility, and trustworthiness) and a number of strategies (such as supervisors and peers debriefing) that can enhance and demonstrate credibility. The analytical processes of using the dialogue of questions and answers, the fusion of horizons, and using the hermeneutic circle, make the analytical processes more visible to the reader.

Authenticity “rather than reliability is often an issue in qualitative research. The aim is usually to gather an ‘authentic’ understanding of people’s experiences and it is believed that open-ended questions are the most effective route towards this end” (Silverman, 1999), pp.10). In this research, the use of unstructured interviews to pick up the experiences of the participants helped to ensure that the findings were credible by establishing the participants’ reality.

Plausibility is concerned with determining whether the findings of the study (description, explanation, or theory) “fit” the data from which they were derived (Sandelowski, 1998). The reader needs to be able to judge the adequacy of the research process and comment on the evidence provided to support the researchers’

conclusions and interpretations. This goal was addressed in this research through providing transparent method and detailed discussion of findings including many original participants' quotes.

Trustworthiness is defined as confidence that the information is accurate and reflects reality (DePoy & Gitlin, 1998). There are several important aspects of trustworthiness to address during phases of data collection and analysis. Firstly, the researcher should obtain sound information that adequately captures the experience, meaning, and event in the field (Peterson, 2003). In this research I first presented the preliminary findings to my peers at a number of workshops, and then to my supervisors and directors. This aided in the fusion of horizon process and testing the clarity of my thinking. My peers at the workshops acknowledged that the preliminary findings were congruent with their understanding of the research questions. My supervisors provided ongoing critiqued and supervision throughout the research process.

3.5.2 Rigour

The credibility of research is enhanced by the rigour of its conduct. In describing the decision trial in this research, I have portrayed the rigour inherent in the hermeneutic phenomenology. In addition, by including deep immersion in the texts, repeated cycling between the parts, and the whole to make sense of the phenomenon in relation to the texts, repeated exploration of horizons of participants and researcher, and depth of dialogue between the research, participants, and texts.

3.5.3. Ethical Considerations

Miles and Huberman (1994) provided an extensive description of ethical issues that need consideration by researchers:

- a. Worthiness of the project: will the research contribute in some significant way?
- b. Competence boundaries: do I have the expertise to carry out the study and am I prepared to study and consult with others
- c. Informed consent: do the participants have full information about the study?
- d. Benefits, cost and reciprocity: what do the participants gain?
- e. Harm and risk: what might this study do to hurt people?
- f. Honest and trust: Am I telling the truth and do we trust each other?
- g. Privacy, confidentiality and anonymity: how identifiable are the individuals?
- h. Integrity and quality: was the study conducted carefully, thoughtfully, and correctly in terms of some reasonable set of standard? (Adapted from Miles and Huberman, 1994, pp. 209-297).

All participants consented voluntarily without coercion to contribute to the research, were fully informed of the expectations and purpose. Every effort was made to avoid placing participants at risk or harm. The participants indicated that they had benefited considerably from the dialogue of the interviews. They also commented that they appreciated the opportunity to engage in a research process and contribute to development of knowledge about Nigerians in Britain. Every effort was made to maintain privacy, anonymity, and confidentiality throughout the research process. At all times, we tried to represent the material with honest, avoiding any manipulation of texts.

Table 3.1: Description of the participants: professions, gender, age, marital status, number of children, educational level, employment status, resident status, and number of years of residency in Britain

profession	Gend er	Age	Marital status	Num ber of child	Educational level	Employment status	Resident status	Number of years of residency

				ren				in Britain
Medical doctor	male	42-45	Married	3	M.SC	Full-time	Permanent	15 years
IT consultant	Female	36-40	Married	2	B.SC.	Full-time	Dual-nationality	20 years
Solicitor	Male	44-48	Married	4	M.A.	Full-time	Permanent	19 years
Nursing sister	Female	32-37	Married	2	Diploma	Full-time	permanent	11 years
School teacher	Female	28-35	Married	1	B.SC.	Full-time	Permanent	10 years
Civil servant	Male	48-52	Married	3	PH.D	Full-time	Dual-nationality	13 years
Administrator	Female	25-32	Married	2	HND	Full-time	permanent	10 years
Social worker	Female	30-36	Married	3	M.A.	Full-time	permanent	15 years
Nursing sister	Female	40-45	Married	2	B.SC.	Full-time	Permanent	12 years
Computer engineer	Male	48-53	Married	4	M.SC.	Full-time	Permanent	20 years
Solicitor	Female	28-32	Married	3	B.A.	Full-time	permanent	10 years
Social Worker	Female	35-40	Married	2	B.SC.	Full-time	Dual-nationality	15 years
Medical Engineer	Male	40-45	Married	4	M.SC.	Full-time	permanent	13 years
Teacher	Female	35-39	Married	3	M.A.	Full-time	permanent	14 years
Architect	Male	45-52	Married	3	M.SC.	Full-time	permanent	10 years
Lecturer	Male	35-40	Married	2	P.HD	Full-time	permanent	11 years
Nurse	Male	30-36	Married	2	B.SC	Full-time	permanent	12 years
IT Security Engineer	Male	45-50	Married	3	M.SC	Full-time	Dual-nationality	23 years

3.6 Development of Survey Research Tools

This section discusses the development of survey tool used for the research starting from development of questionnaire to the choice of analytical preference. Also discussed are rationale and considerations that guided the choices made.

3.6.1 Designing the questionnaire – theoretical underpinnings

Many questionnaire designers take for granted that the questions they ask are the same as those their respondents answer and that all respondents answer the same question, yet Belson (1986) has clearly shown the fallacy of these assumptions. Developments in the survey research over the last twenty years have been concern with increasingly powerful analytical techniques and their application to larger and larger data bases.

However, these developments have often lost sight of the fact that the quality of data analysis depends on the quality of data analysed. In other word, no amount of advanced multivariate analysis can improve the quality of poor original survey responses. Over 40 years ago Gallup (1947) concluded that survey results were influenced more by questions design than by sample design. Since then despite the effort of many authors (see for example, Schuman et.al. 1981; Converse, 1986; Belson, 1986), the development underlying theory of question wording has been very slow. Some authors have offered general rules about question design, but such rules are often contradictory (Labaw 1980; Schuman & Presser, 1981; Crespi & Morris, 1984)). What can be drawn from this brief review is that it is possible that simply changing one word will change the whole meaning of a question especially, in a multi-culture and multi-ethnic society like Britain. The problem for questionnaire designers is being aware when to change a question and when not to. In addition, one way of achieving this is by carrying out systematic test of the questions on the population of interest using various approaches such as focus group or a pilot etc.

Related to question design is the measurement issue in survey research especially, in the area of family management structure. One interesting observation I made during the literature review was that items used to measure the management framework varies considerably. Some authors used few items while, others used extensive measures. Both this approach can have variable impact on the research findings (Oakley, 1974a; Goldscheider and Waite, 1991; Kalmijn, 1999). Another limitation I observed is that almost all measurement used by the authors were limited to domestic work and child-care tasks, only a minority of authors included house services as a separate strand of family work. Provider role was not explicitly included in most of the measures. Ishii-Kuntz and Coltrane (1992) demonstrated an example of these

limitations, when they suggested that a more accurate approach to measuring couple's involvement in family work is by separation of tasks by housework and child-based tasks. No explicit mention was made about house-services and main provider. The lack of consideration for culture- heterogeneity was so profound in most of the measurements. This lack of consideration for cultural-specific aspect make the existing measures less suitable for doing cross-cultural or cross-ethnic research, it also not suitable for doing research on a group or community with different orientations and values. For example, in Nigeria culture decisions making/taking is tied to who is responsible for a particular task, the person responsible for domestic tasks take most decision etc. Using, measurement that asked holistic question like, who take/make all the major decisions in this family, on Nigerian couples would not produce insightful responses.

The above outlined findings inform what follows. I take a step to develop a questionnaire and measures that address several of the limitations and gaps observed in the literature and consequently, make the questions and measurement more reflective of the values, language, and orientations of the population being studied. I will now describe the processes starting with focus group and the rationale for using it.

3.6.2 Focus Group

Powell et al define a focus group as “a group of individuals selected and assembled by researcher to discuss and comment on, from personal experiences, the topic that is the subject of the research (1996, pp.499). Focus group can be divided into two types: a) Group interviewing which, involving a number of people at the same time with the emphasis being on question and response between the researcher and the participants, b) “focus groups which rely on interaction within the group on topics that are supplied

by the researcher” (Morgan, 1997, pp.12). The main characteristic, which distinguishes focus groups from group interviewing, is the insight and that produced by the interaction between participants. Of the two types, I chose focus group. Merton and Kendall’s (1946) article on the parameter for focus group development influenced my choice in part. This was in terms of ensuring that participants have a specific experience of opinion about the topic under investigation; that an explicit interview guide is used; and that the subjective experiences of participants are explored in relation to predetermined research questions. In addition, one of my objectives for conducting the interview was to elicit a multiplicity of views and the emotional processes within a group context, and focus group interview is well suited for this purpose. Focus group interview draws on upon respondent’s attitudes, feelings, beliefs, experiences and reactions in a way in which would not be feasible using other methods, for example one-to-one interview, or questionnaire survey. Kitzinger (1995) argues that interaction is the crucial feature of focus groups because the interaction between participants highlights their view of the world, the language they use about an issue and their values and beliefs about the situation. Interaction also enables participants to ask questions of each other, as well as to re-evaluate and reconsider their own understandings of their specific experiences. Focus group elicits information in way, which allows researchers to find out why an issue is salient, as well as what is salient about it (Morgan, 1988). As a result, the gap between what people say and what they do can be better understood (Lankshear, 1993).

Focus group can be used for various purposes in a research. For example, it can be used at the preliminary or exploratory stages of a study (Kreuger, 19888; during a study, perhaps to evaluate or develop a particular programme of activities (Race et al, 1994; or after a programme has been finished to assess it impact or to generate further

avenues of research. They can help to explore or generate hypotheses (Powell & Single, 1996) and develop questions or concepts for questionnaires and interview guides (Hoppe et al, 1995; Lankshear, 1993). I used the focus group to develop concept for questionnaire. Focus group research has a number of limitations some of which can be overcome by careful planning and moderating, but some are unavoidable and are peculiar to this approach. For example, the researcher or moderator control in the case of this research over data produced was limited (Morgan, 1988). The moderator must allow participants to talk to each other, ask questions and express doubts and opinions, while having little control over the interaction other than generally keeping participants focused on the topic. By its nature focus group, research is open-ended and cannot be entirely predetermined. Finally, focus groups are not fully confidential or anonymous, because the material is shared with others in the group.

3.6.3 Organisation of focus group

Organising the focus group interview was more difficult than I expected. For example getting the participants to agree on time, venue, and gender mix was very difficulty. Getting the elders within the community to assist, painstaking negotiation and persuasion helped me to overcome most of the difficulties. The recommended number of people for focus group interview is usually six to ten (Macintosh, 1993), but some researchers have used more people (Goss & Leinbach, 1996) or fewer (Kitzinger, 1995). I used nine married people (six women and three men), and we met twice. The group agreed on a neutral location for the group sessions so both of our meetings took place at a church hall over two Sundays. The group sessions were held usually after church services. The gender mix of the group member was influenced by people willingness to participate. The official length of time I set for the two meetings were

1-hour 30minutes each. However, our first meeting lasted for over four hours and second meeting lasted for almost 2hours 10minutes. Most of the participants expressed satisfaction that their views are valued, and that they are contributing to a major research work on Nigerians. I did not moderate the meetings myself, instead I appointed one of the elderly members of the focus group to moderate the meetings. Three factors guided my action, a) the advice from the elders to appoint this person as she is highly respected within the Nigerian community both here in London and in Nigeria, b) my awareness of Nigerian seniority system, traditionally, any senior had a right to unquestioned services, deference, and submissiveness from any junior (Lloyd, 1974, pp.35-36; Aronson, 1980); c) the critical role of moderator in a focus group interview. Moderator is expected to possess certain qualities such as, ability to promote trust among the participants, ability to increase the likelihood of open and interactive dialogue, good interpersonal skill etc. In addition, he/she should command enough respect which can give him/her the leverage to challenge participants, especially to draw out people's differences, and tease out a diverse range of meanings on the topic under discussion (this last quality is more peculiar to Nigerian). I had a meeting with the moderator, during the meeting I explained to her the purpose and what I will use the information that I am seeking from the focus group for; and the importance of making sure that every member participated. I also explained what my role will be during the meetings i.e. taking occasional note of what is being said, and assisting her in making sure that conversation is not drifting etc.

The participants had a great deal of liberty, which allowed them to develop their own ideas, and this freedom to roam was very useful in the end. It helped in addressing some interesting point I would have taken for granted. For example, (asking itemised questions on tasks such as, who does washing-up after cooking, who prepares the

dinner etc.). From the focus group meeting it emerge that all these responsibility are part of preparing family dinner, quite simply, who ever that is cooking family dinner is responsible for all activities related to that cooking.

Finally, I found the outcome of the focus group very exciting as I gained different perspective on question wording and packaging that are more peculiar to Nigerians. Indeed the information I gathered enabled me to ‘indigenise’ my questionnaire.

3.6.4 Piloting

The term piloting is used in two different ways in social science research, it can refer to what is often called feasibility study which is “small scale version[s], trail run[s], carried out in preparation for the major study” (Polit et al., 2001, pp.467). But, a pilot study can also be used for a pre-testing or ‘trying out’ of a research instrument (Baker, 1994, pp.182-3). I used the pilot study to pre-test the self-completing questionnaire.

The reasons for piloting the questionnaire are as follows: (a) to find out whether the questions are inappropriate or too complicated, b) to gain advance warning about where the respondents may have difficulties, c) assessing the feasibility of a full-scale survey, d) establish that replies can be interpreted in terms of the information that is required, e) to check whether all the questions are answerable, and f) ultimately, to improve the internal validity of the questionnaire. In the words of De Vaus (1993, pp. 54) “Do not take risk, pilot test first.”

3.6.5 Pilot Procedure

Following Peat et al. (2002, pp. 123), suggested steps for pilot study, the following procedure were used:

1. The questionnaires were administered to a small sample of volunteers, who are as similar as possible to the target population - thirty people.
2. The method used to administer the questionnaire was as close as possible as it will be for the main survey.
3. The volunteers were asked for feedback to identify ambiguities and difficult questions.
4. They were asked to record the amount of time taken to complete the questionnaire and decide whether it is reasonable.
5. To assess whether each question gave an adequate range of responses.

The feedback from the pilot provided useful information, which, was used to, made changes such as, re-wording and re-scaling of questions and shortening and lengthening of some questions. I also learned few other things from the pilot for example, using the 'gatekeeper' such as, church and other community meeting places as avenue for distributing and collecting the questionnaire improves return rate, and that giving questionnaire meant for a family to the wife instead of husbands increases return rate.

3.7 Developing Sample Frame, Sampling and Data Collection

In the words of Kalton et al "the design of an efficient sample for surveying a rare population is one of the most challenging tasks confronting the sampling statisticians" (Kalton and Anderson, 1986, pp. 65). In addition, this problem becomes even more challenging when the specific population of interest is relatively small. The initial goal therefore, is to identify a framework for obtaining a sufficient sample frame of immigrant Nigerian dual-earner professional families living in London. What follows are the approaches I used. First, I conducted literature review of major surveys of minority ethnic groups and the survey research literature examining the methodology

options for the survey, and on subject literature in various fields such as health that researched minority ethnic populations. Second, I consulted with known academics who has carried out research studies on minority ethnic populations. The literature review on large-scale national surveys where concentrated primarily on surveys where a substantial component of the study's sample was a minority group. For example, those with a wholly minority ethnic sample or a special minority boost and, surveys where the primary population under study was one or more minority ethnic groups such as, those sampled from the general population and recorded the ethnic group of the survey respondents. Examples of large-scale national surveys within these categories are, British Crime Survey (Hales and Stratford, 1999); National survey of Ethnic Minorities (Smith & Prior, 1996; General Household survey; Labour force survey; Health survey for England). The review main objective was to establish the strategies used in developing sampling frame. Four methods were established:

- a. the electoral register,
- b. the telephone directory,
- c. postcode address file,
- d. focus enumeration,

I will briefly highlight an assessment of the methods potentials as sampling frame tools for my research need. Until relatively recently, electoral register was one of the main source for sample frame in the United Kingdom, this is because it contains the list of all those currently eligible and registered to vote and so includes all U.K. citizens who are aged 18 or over or who will become 18 during the life of the register. Because the register is a list of individuals and not households, it is in principle a useful source for sample frame since every one in the register has the same chance of inclusion. However, issues have been raised about, a) how complete is its coverage on

minority ethnic groups and? b) Is it possible to identify individuals from minority ethnic groups from the electoral register (Lynn and Lievsley, 1991)? And c) pertinent to the present research what is the viability of identifying Nigerian professional dual-earners from the electoral register considering that the register does not contain detail information. Studies that used electoral register for sample frame such as, (Coldman et al, 1988; Bassett et al., 1986; Ecob et al., 1991; Barton, 1997; O'Brien, et al., 1982), identified respondents via their surnames. This methods has some obvious flaw, while it may be appropriate for those ethnic minority population with distinctive names, it is not suitable for ethnic groups like Nigerians since many bears Christian and English names.

The **telephone directory** carries listings of individuals instead of households so, in principle it offers a possibility of identifying ethnic minority population. But like electoral register it has flaws: first it has much restricted coverage i.e. household without telephone is excluded and, it is plausible that household without telephone will be high among minority ethnic groups. The telephone directory option therefore, is not suitable for my need.

The postcode address file (PAF) is a list of every active 'delivery point' within the UK. For each entry, the PAF contains the full postal address, including postcode, but not the name(s) of the people who live there. Many large general population surveys for the past 11 years have shifted from Electoral register to postcode address file. For example, National office of Statistics uses PAF for all of its major continuous survey (e.g. Family expenditure survey; the General Household Survey, the Labour Force Survey, etc.). The main advantages for general population sampling are:

- a. it is deem to be more complete in its coverage of household
- b. it is more frequently updated

c. It is organised using administrative flexible units.

The main flaws of the PAF in relation to a survey of minority ethnic group are that it contains no information about occupants of dwellings. So it will require an extensive screening exercise to identify respondents. Screening to identify respondents with particular characteristics is a relatively widely used approach and does not in theory; affect the probability of inclusion of any one household or individual. However, its use in the survey of the Nigerian immigrant professional dual-earner families is problematic. As Kalton and Anderson (1986) note, “if the rare population constitutes a sizable proportion of the frame population, the screening costs may not be too severe, but screening cost increase rapidly as the degree of rarity rises” (pp. 74-76). A sample of immigrant Nigerian dual-earner professional families using PAF, is not therefore viable because of the cost the resources.

The National Centre developed focus enumeration, which is a form of multiplicity sampling (Kalton and Anderson, 1986 op. cit.), jointly for Social Research and the Policy Studies Institute for the third National Survey of Ethnic Minorities. It has also been used for the British Crime survey and the Fourth National survey. The main aim of the method is to reduce the cost associated with screening addresses for minority ethnic households. The interviewer seeking information about the ethnic origin of those living in a pre-selected address also seek from the visited household about the ethnic origin of people living at n-1 addresses to their either side. Because the methods rely on respondents to provide proxy information about ethnic origin of their neighbours, there is a possibility of inaccuracy. Despite this weakness, focus enumeration does make it possible, in principle to create a workable sample frame while retaining the principle of randomness and equal probability of selection.

However, like PAF the cost of resources required for an effective use of focus enumeration is well beyond my affordability.

The review so far has shown that available methods are either too costly or unsuitable for the present study. With this knowledge and further literature reviews, I developed a method which combined geographical mapping and time/space (Muhir et al., 2001), and Respondent-driven sampling (RDS) to create a sample frame. First, using information I gained from 2001 National census report on the concentration of ethnic minorities in the London boroughs (see also Peach, 1996), and suggestions by word of mouth I, selected out four boroughs namely: Lambeth, Southwark, Lewisham, and Enfield, these boroughs according to the report have relatively, higher concentration of Nigerians. Using my knowledge of London and suggestions from contacts that I established during the pilot and focus group, I sort to establish locations where Nigerians of all classes, age, and gender meet regularly. I was able to establish three possible locations, 1) churches, 2) mosques, and 3) community meeting venues. Through further ethnographic fieldwork and word of mouth, 16 place of worships and 10 community meetings venues that boost high concentration of Nigerians (for ethical reasons I cannot list the places of worship or the meeting venues) were established. These venues are used as the primary sampling units. I randomly selected 5 locations - : 3 places of worship and 2 places of community meetings. I used a variety of means including visits to the location and telephone calls to establish contacts and subsequently I arrange meetings with the church and community meetings leaders. My aim for the meetings was twofold: a) to gain permission, b) to ask for the leader's assistance. During these meetings I was able to discuss my needs and how they can assist me, I also explained in details my research, and what I will do with the information that I am seeking. All the leaders were supportive and they relished the

opportunity to be involved in what they saw as ‘making a difference to the image of Nigerians in U.K’. Several assistance were offered including making announcement their churches and community meetings to the members and congregations about my eminent visit, provision of volunteers to assist in the recruitment drive and also helped in arranging distribution and collection of self-completed questionnaire which I will discuss later. I used respondent-driven sampling method³ (Heckathorn & Salganik, 2003), which is a form of ‘multiplicity sampling’ (Kalton and Anderson, 1986; Sirken, 1970), to recruit the target population i.e. Nigerian professional dual-earner couples. The basic concept behind this approach is that respondents are not selected from the wider congregations or members, but from the social network of existing members within the population. I begin sampling process in each venue by selecting a small number of people or ‘seeds’ who met the criteria, usually three people. The selections of the initial seeds were based on contacts and advice from the church and community leaders. These seeds then recruited others who met the criteria, this process of existing sample members recruiting other members continued until the desired sample frame is reached.⁴ Each seed can only introduce three people etc.; they can also introduce people who are not a member of their church or community meetings as long as they met the definition of the population of interest. The rationale for allowing seeds to recruit as wide as they can is to reduce the possibility of introducing unknown bias into the sampling process. The first screening exercise

³ Other variations of sampling methods for estimating and sampling of hidden populations includes, snowball sampling, (Frank, 1979; Frank and Snijders, 1994; David and Snijders, 2002); network scale-up designs (Killworth et al., 1998a); Capture-recapture (Sudman, et al., 1988; Hogan, 1993); Heckathorn et al., 2002).

⁴ The desired sample frame size was not based on any defined principle. It was based on the researcher judgement.

simply involves seeds given to the volunteers⁵ the names of the people whom they believe meet the definition of the population of interest, the first recruitment drive yielded 2,450 families. Because of cost, time and invasion of people privacy which many people may not like. I could not use more practical approaches such as, one-to-one meetings or telephone calls to verify that all the families recruited satisfied the conditions instead, I used a pragmatic approach to carry out the verification, I asked the churches and community meetings announcers to carry out several announcement during or after church or meetings asking people give names and those that introduce people to make sure that the conditions set-out were all met and for those who did not satisfy all the criteria to meet the volunteers and remove their names. Using this strategy for the screening, a final sample number of people that make-up the sampling frame was down to 1,800.

3.7.1 Sampling

A simple random sampling approach (Kish, 19878; Chain, 1981) was used to sample families from the developed sample frame. I selected the first numbered family name randomly from a list of the first 20-numbered family's names thereafter; every nth name on the list was selected. A total of 189 family names were randomly sampled.

The following criteria were used:

- a. the family must have lived in U.K. for not less than five years
- b. the family must be permanent resident
- c. both must be in full-time employment
- d. both must reside in the same house as husband and wife
- e. they must have children under the age of 16 sharing a resident

⁵ Both the seeds were not paid. However, I took the volunteers who are mainly students to few lunches, and the seeds were thanked through the church and community leaders.

3.7.2 Data collection

The self –completed questionnaire were distributed and collected mainly through the churches and community meetings, other were collected by hand. Two questionnaires were given to the families in different envelopes i.e. blue for the husband and pink for the wife. There were instructed to complete the questionnaire according to the instruction on the questions (see the appendix for a sample of the questionnaire) and return after completion to the appointed person in the churches or community meetings. For those who are neither member of community meetings or church, I arranged to collect the questionnaire by hand.

Because of the methods used in distributing and collecting the questionnaire and personal interests shown by the respondents, the response rate was very high. With 322 of the 378 questionnaire that were handed out returned, that is almost 85 percent response rate, (see table 2 below). 36 of the returned questionnaire were find unsuitable for various reasons for instance, failure of one partner returning his/hers, failure to answer the whole questions etc., and were excluded from the analysis.

Table 3.2 Description of number of questionnaires handed out/returned, rejected, and final number used in the analysis. (Numbers in bracket represents couples)

	Responses	%
Number of questionnaire handed out	378 (189)	100
Number of questionnaire returned	322(161)	85
Number of questionnaire rejected	36(18)	11
Final number of questionnaire used	286(143)	76

Table 3 below presents the demographic characteristics of the respondents. All the couples are married and are in full-time employment. Majority of both husband and

wives are within the 26-47 years (49% and 53% respectively, the age gap between husbands and wives are not significant, the wives have higher degrees than the husbands (38% against 37%) do, and more wives (50%) are member of a Nigerian community association. More wives belong to Pentecostal churches than their husbands do (51% against 49%) do, but the difference is marginal.

Table 3.3 Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

Husbands			Wives	
Sample characteristic	Categories	Frequencies	Categories	Frequencies
Age-group	24-35	14%	24-35	26%
	36-47	49%	36-47	53%
	48-65	36%	48-65	27%
Educational qualifications				
	‘A’ level	3%	‘A’ level	5%
	professional	12%	professional	15%
	first degree	48%	first degree	43%
	higher degree	37%	higher degree	38%
Employment status	Full-time	100%	Full-time	100%
	Part-time		Part-time	
Religion	Catholic	25%	Catholic	27%
	protestant	16%	Protestant	16%
	Pentecostal	49%	Pentecostal	51%
	Islam	4%	Islam	2%
	Aladura church	4%	Aladura church	4%
Membership of Nigerian community association	Member	41%	Member	50%
	Non-member	59%	Non-member	50%

3.8 Instruments and Scales

3.8.1 Background variables

The questionnaire included several background items such as religion, educational background, educational qualifications, and membership of community organisation. Questions on number of children, employment status, marital status, and immigration status were built into the design. The core questions items addressed attitudes towards gender roles, division of domestic work, and division of child-care.

Before I proceed further, I shall explain briefly the rationale for the choice of measures adopted in measuring what the husband and wife do in the family. There are two main ways of identifying who does what: 1) by determining how the division is shared, that is, how it is distributed and 2) by analysing the amount of time spent on tasks.

Goldscheider and Waite (1991) suggest that if the interest is on how the labour is shared, that the information required is who perform what proportion of family work. They argue that gathering information on time spent on task by respondents does not tell you how much of the task was performed by other people. Although, time use data maybe useful at the population level to compare how much time women and men spend on various tasks, and how that change over time, it may be difficult to reconcile at the couple level given that large portion of tasks are now contracted out especially, in the dual-earners professional families. The present research interest is on how labour is shared between the couples. In addition, to help gain more insight on parental involvement in childrearing, child-based tasks is separated from domestic's tasks. This approach followed Ishii-Kuntz and Coltrane (1992), suggestion that to get a more accurate picture of what husbands/men do a separation of tasks by housework and child-care task is needed (See also, Marsiglio, 1995; Lamb et al., 1987; McBride

and Rane, 1998; Edgar, 1997). Similarly, house maintenance tasks are separated from domestic tasks and provision of finances for running of the family was explicitly measured.

3.8.2 Attitudes towards gender role

Attitudes towards gender roles were examined with modified Kulik's Gender Role Questionnaire (Kulik, 1995). The six items refer to attitudes towards gender roles in such areas as, "if husband and wife work are in a full-time employment, other family tasks should be shared equally". "If wife and husbands makes equal financial contribution to the family budget, all the other family tasks should be shared equally". "Husbands main duty should be to earn money and wife main duty should be to look after the home and children". "Husbands should stay home and take care of the children and home while wife should go out and earn money for the family"; and finally "who is the head of the family". Possible responses ranged from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree); who is the head of the family is coded as 1 (husband), 2 (shared), and 3 (wife). During the data cleaning and analysis, scores for some items were re-coded, so that a higher score represented a more traditional opinion.

3.8.3 Behaviour towards division of domestic tasks

Division of domestic tasks was measured on the basis of a 6-item self-report questionnaire I developed using the existing domestic labour index (Mann-Kanovitz, 1977; Kulik, 2001) as a guide. The items describe various tasks performed by spouses at home. For each item, respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which the task in question is performed by husband and by wife. Possible responses fell along a 3-point scale, which range from 1 (wife mainly) to 3 (husband mainly), with a midpoint of 2 (shared between husband and wife). A holistic question on "who is mainly responsible for general care of the domestic task was asked; and questions on

different areas of domestic tasks like, cooking, shopping, and washing, cleaning, ironing, and taking out trash were asked.

3.8.4 Child-care tasks

Child-care tasks was measured with Paternal Index of Childcare Inventory (PICCI) originally developed by Radin & Goldsmith (1985); modified by Frank and Livingston (2000). For the purpose of the present research, the PCCI was further modified to follow Kalmijn classification of parent's involvement measures (1999). The classification covered four broad areas: physical care such as changing nappies, washing and bathing, taking child to doctor, and staying home with sick child; school related activities i.e. talking to school teachers, participating in school related activities; leisure activities such as, buying presents for child's birthday, going on outing with child; and interaction with child for instance, talking with child about cleaning room, manners, bedtimes, and school. Here I am interested in activities that are pertinent to Nigerian families hence; my measure of child-care task was concentrated on physical care. Similar to domestic tasks, each item was rated using the following 3-point scale: 1 (wife mainly), to 3 (husband mainly), with a midpoint 2 (shared between husband and wife). A holistic questions such as "who is mainly responsible for the physical care of the child/children i.e. bathing, feeding, changing nappies etc". Another questions asked, "Who takes child/children to hospital when they are sick"?

3.8.5 House services/maintenance

House services were measured on the basis of 1-item. The item included tasks related to technical maintenance of the home, such as furniture repairs, plumbing, electrical repairs etc. a holistic question, which asked the respondents "who is mainly responsible for the general maintenance of the family house"? Item was scored using a

3-point scale ranging from 1 (husband mainly), to 3 (wife mainly), with a midpoint of 2 (both husband and wife).

3.8.6 Contribution to the Family finance

One item examined how much each partner contributes to the family finances from their earnings. Contributions were measured in percentages. Four categories were used: 0-24%, 25-50%, 51-75%, and 76%+.

Table 3.4 Variables Definitions

Variables	Definition
Childcare tasks	Relative participation(presented as percentage) to one core child care activity: helping with homework, taking children to activities and appointment, taking child/children to school, bathing, feeding, taking them to bed.
Responsible for child care	Who is responsible for childcare tasks?
Domestic tasks	Relative participation (presented as percentage) to 6 domestic tasks: doing the dishes; preparing food; cleaning the house; washing and ironing; shopping.
Responsible for Domestic	Who is responsible for domestic tasks?
House services tasks	Relative participation (presented in percentage) to 3 outdoor/indoor tasks: repairing things around the house; repairing the cars; paint the house; mowing the garden
Responsible for house services tasks	Who is responsible for house services?
Providing task	Relative contribution (presented as percentage) to the family budget from spouses earnings
Age	Husband’s and wives age grouped in years (24-65+)
Education	Husband’s and wives levels of education qualifications (“A” level – Doctorate degree)
Employment	Both husband and wife in full-time employment (build into study design)

Family type	Husband and wife with children of school age living in the same house
Membership of Nigerian community association	Membership (presented as percentage) of Nigerian community association
Religiosity	Husband and wife level of religiosity (presented as percentage)

3.9 Data Analysis

The choice of data analysis technique used is informed by the research aim and objectives. As already stated elsewhere, the research aim is to gain understanding of the family management framework prevalent among Professional Nigerian dual-earner families living in London. Therefore, in the beginning there was no pre-conceived assumption as to what the framework would be, in other words, there was no strict testing of hypotheses. Accordingly, I refrain from using advanced methods of statistical and analysis and rely instead on more exploratory techniques.

Univariate analysis is method of analysing one variable at a time. The commonly used tools are frequency tables. A frequency tables provides the number of people or percentage of people belonging to each of the categories of the variable being analysed.

In relation to this research, the Univariate analysis is used to provide the number and percentages of responses from the families to range of issues relating to family division of work. This part of analysis provided initial answers to the one of the research objective, which is identifying the views of the families concerning division of family work.

The main reason for using frequency tables is that it is relatively easy to interpret and understand. Bar charts where used to present nominal and ordinal variables and Interval and ratio variables i.e. age, educational level. Univariate analysis only

provides us with percentage of participants that takes a certain position; it does not tell us what may have influenced the position taken by the respondents. To obtain such information required a different technique. Bivariate Analysis is a statistical technique whose common objective is to see how two variables relate to each other (Bryman, 2002). It is commonly used in quantitative data analysis to explore relationships between variables with the aim of searching for evidence that the variation in one variable coincides with variation in another variables. The most commonly used tools for conducting bivariate analysis is cross tabulation. A cross tabulation contains a cell for every combination of categories of the two variables. Inside the cells is a number showing how many people had that combination of responses.

The use of bivariate analysis for examining relationships between variables depends on the nature of the variables being analysed. Bivariate analysis is suitable for nominal variables and ordinal variables, it is not suitable for variables which you cannot easily discern independent and dependent variables. Consequently, the research variables comprise a mixture of nominal and ordinal variables with a discernable independent and dependent variables, which warranted the use of contingency table.

In many ways a contingency table is similar to a frequency table, the only difference is that it allows two variables to be analysed at the same time. Some of the characteristics of contingency tables are as follows. When using contingency tables for analysis it is customary to define the independent variables as the column, and the dependent variables as the row. In this format, it is assumed that variable in the column influences variable in the row. Following this conventional precedence therefore, the presumed independent variables are placed on the column side and the dependent variables are placed in the row. Consequently, all the analysis on the

establishing pattern of association in this analysis presumed that column variable influences row variables.

CHAPTER FOUR

A qualitative study of Nigerian professionals' perception of their well-being in Britain

4.1 Results

The result illustrates how 18 immigrant Nigerian professionals living in London explain their lived experiences. Three dominant themes emerge from the data: a) reason for immigrating to Britain; b) self-interpretation of immigration status; and c) perception of institutional and blatant racism from the host society i.e. government, employers, and mainstream population. The following excerpts present each of the constructs by highlighting the voices of the immigrant Nigerian professionals through their actual words from the interview.

4.1.1 Reason for migrating to Britain

It appears from the data that sending context, which refers to the conditions in the country of origin i.e. political or economic situation in Nigeria and social conditions such as, education, standard of life, and employment are the main influential factors for the participants' immigration to Britain. Other reasons include a mixture of informal networks; 'push' factors, earlier experiences as a student, and capital accumulation.

The Abacha regime forced me out of Nigeria; I came here ten years ago. I first came to London in the seventies as a medical student and returned back to Nigerian immediately after my studies. Back in Nigeria there were no facilities in the hospitals, the infrastructure was in near collapse. In addition, the frustration for me became unbearable as it became impossible to work properly as a doctor.

(Male participant m03)

Life was unbearable for me and my family under the military government, our children's education was also suffering because of falling standards, we therefore took a decision to move to London.

(Female participant f04)

We came to London in the early eighties with my family to visit my brother. After some reflections, we decided that we would settle in Britain, partly for the sake of my children education and partly because of the economic and political stability here. We

then went back to Nigeria. I resigned from my work and my wife did the same. In October 1997 we moved to London because of persistence economic hardship
(Female participant f03))

I came to London to save my life and the life of my family from the military government. I held a very high profile position in one of the government ministries. My religious belief was in disagreement with what the government was doing to Nigeria, and having seen what happens to those who openly opposed the government, I felt that it was best for me to resign so I did just that.

(Male participant m12)

My husband was in the military. He was instructed to undertake some very unpleasant tasks by the government..., which he refused. Because he refused to take up the tasks, they started making his life very difficult. Therefore, I advised him to get out of military service. After he resigned, we decided to [return] back to London.

(Female participant f13)

Politics, political instability in Nigeria and the declining standard of living it seems, contributed to these participants' reasons for immigrating to London. There is an also social element in their reasons for coming to London for instance, a better education for their children.

The research data showed that self-improvement such as further education was the initial motivation for the following participants coming to Britain however, the deteriorating economic conditions back in Nigeria and the fear of military government appears to add further dimensions to their reasons for remaining in Britain after their studies:

Initially, I came here to study, after my studies I decided to work for some time before going back home. As things developed over time, I find my self-still living in London
(Male participant m06)

My parents sent me to Britain to further education however, after my studies when I was planning to go back home, the military took over from the civilian government. My parents advised me to remain [in London] until such a time they think it is safe for me to return.
(Female participant f07)

The reasons expressed for immigration by these participant reflect what economists have called 'push' factors, which include underemployment and differences in wages between

countries, plus the media's increasing telescopic acculturation forces, combined with informal network or earlier immigrant experiences reported by relatives have presented to their kin a better imagined future opportunity in another country.

I was working in Nigeria as a bank manager in one of the Nigerian reputable banks [name withheld]. My wife was teaching in one of the secondary school in the city of Lagos. A cousin suggested that I should move to London because he believes that life is much better here [in London] and that I will earn more money than what I was then earning in Nigeria. After several months of deliberation with my wife, I decided to visit London. In my first visit, I spent one month and went back. When I went back to Nigeria, I told my wife that we should move to London. Initially my wife was very sceptical, but after several months of persuasion, she reluctantly agreed. Therefore, we moved to London in 1987.

(Male participant m09)

I first came to Britain on a short course organized by my company. After my training, I decided to work for some time before going back. Nevertheless, I never managed to go back. After three years, I sent for my family. My reason for staying back is quite simply, 'economic'.

(Male participant m05)

This informant is what (Orozco, 2002) has called a 'target earner' - that is a person who set out to a new land in search of better – paid work, with the intention of returning home permanently when the earning goal has been reached. This type of immigrant often migrates initially without their family, and is often opportunist.

The research data showed that a mixture of factors were given by the participants for immigrating to Britain. The sending context i.e. circumstances back in Nigeria contributed strongly to the participants reasons for coming to Britain. Few researches have specifically explored the influence of the sending context and the acculturation process on Nigerian immigrant families. It is plausible that sending context can have great influence on the expectations, perceptions of host society, and acculturation process of these families. The data also demonstrated that acquisition of better education in Britain was a significant incentive for immigrating to Britain. Contrary to general assumption that most Nigerian in

Britain came for either further education or fear of political persecution in Nigeria, the data showed that many Nigerian reason for coming to Britain are economic and expected better quality of life. Congruent with Hunt (2002) findings, the participants in this study expressed hope of returning to Nigeria in the near future.

4.1.2 Migration and incorporation

The data also testify to a number of ideas around staying temporary in Britain and tacit expression of oneself as international commuter. Many participants express the intention of returning back to Nigeria when the political situation improve or when they have earned sufficient money to afford a better life back in Nigeria or when they have finished building a house. Feelings like this can undermine socio-cultural change and encourage strong socio-cultural continuity. In other words, it can undermine acculturation – defined as a social and psychological process that is characterized by immigrants’ acceptance of a new mainstream culture (Berry, 1997). The following excerpt highlights participants’ views on their future intentions:

I am planning to go back to Nigeria to rebuild my career now that the dictators that forced me out of Nigeria are gone for good. I left Nigeria to go to Britain because of the political and economic situation. I m not a refugee, I have my papers.

(Male participant m01)

.....I am still very much in touch with development back ‘home’. I hope to go back to Nigeria soon, now that the political climate is much more stable.

(Male participant m03)

I am building my house in Lagos, it is near completion, and as soon as it is completed, I will start planning going back ‘home’. However, because of the poor standard of education in Nigeria now, we will not take our children with us....they will stay back with their mother initially, after their university education then they can come back if they wish.

(Male participant m06)

....we have recently finish building a house in Abuja...we will be returning to Nigeria (thank God), as soon as my husband finishes his specialist training.

(Female participant f17)

4.1.3 Issues relating to identity

Although most of the participants are either dual-nationals or holder permanent residency visa, contrary to general believes, the data showed that many participants described their status as what I like to called 'international commuters' - they constantly referred to Nigeria as home and London as foreign land:

There is no place like home (Nigeria), I have lived in Britain for over 20 years but I still see myself as a foreigner in a foreign land...

(Male participant f16)

...I have lived in Britain for almost all my adult life, I have both Nigeria and British passport(dual-nationality) but, I am a Nigeria at hart....I always see myself as a guest in this land.....all my children are born in Britain so my right they are British. However, we always remind them that they are Nigeria first and British second...

(Male participant m11)

Not all the participants hold this view; some participants viewed themselves as British first and Nigeria second. More women are inclined to see themselves as British first and Nigeria second:

I was born and raised in Nigeria ...but I came to Britain as a young bride with my husbands. Ever since then we have lived in Britain. We had all our children here in London....and as you can tell I am not a spring chicken anymore...I have spend all most all my life here in Britain so, I see my self as British first and then a Nigeria second...yes in that order...

(Female participant f8)

Another participant kept describing her self as a British with a Nigeria hart:

...I came to Britain as a little girl with my parents....I am now in my mid thirties, married with children. Although I am a Nigeria but I have lived here all my life, I grew in a culture different from my country of birth. If you like, I have acquired some characteristics that are not Nigerian. My Nigerian (ness), if you like is in my hart, in other areas I am British...

(Female participant f15)

4.1.4 Perception of experiences by the Government

The data showed very clearly that many Nigerian professional in London belief that British government, majority of employers, and large section of the mainstream population are either stereotyping or discriminate against them. Participants recounted a range of experiences particularly with employers, in which they felt that they are discriminated against because they are Nigerians. Male participants were felt quite strong about the level of discrimination and racisms attitudes by the government towards Nigerians than female participants. Both male and female participants expressed constantly their dissatisfaction with stereotypical encounters with the mainstream population in their every day life.

Sometimes I wondered if the British government realised that we existed ... You asked me how British government perceive us [Nigerians], criminal and economic migrants. That is my perception of how the British government perceives us.

(Male participant f18)

....British government perceive Nigerians as black Africans who has nothing useful to offer the white society other than corruption, it is obvious. I think a lot depends on what you mean by how they perceive us, if you mean as people they recognise that we are here....if you mean as a valuable group within the white society they see Nigerians as irritant and pest. They do not care at all about Nigerians as a group compared to other ethnic minorities.

(Male participant m13)

....British government in my opinion sees Nigerians as criminals and economic spongers.....but who cares.

(Female participant m14)

...it difficult to articulate how the British government think of Nigerians because we are outside their radar.... the only time that you here about Nigerians, living in Britain in the news is only when one of us has committed an offence other wise we do not exist.

(Male participant m15)

British government despite our outstanding academic achievements do not see Nigerians as a group to be recognised.....we are not even addressed as an entity despite the fact that we are the largest black country in the world.....British government see Nigerians as problem people.

(Female participant f9)

The participants viewed the British government as an establishment deliberately choosing to ignore Nigerian existence, at least in a meaningful way. In other words, they knew that Nigerians are part of vibrant Britain, but chose not to recognise them as a productive group in the way that they recognised the Indian and Chinese etc

However, not all the participants shared this view. Some were also very aware of the relative kindness and support that British government are offering Nigerians, in a variety of ways.

The following participants, acknowledges that the negative attitude of British governments towards Nigerians is in part, a result of how the Nigerian government treats its citizens. They also blame the Nigerians in Britain, by pointing out that Nigerians are heavily, involved in criminal acts and that if Nigerians want to be taken seriously by the British government that they should stop this.

I will not categorically say that British government does not care about us [Nigerians] they do care. Without the British government support through British Council, I will not have attended university. In addition, they provided us [Nigerians] with a very conducive environment to develop our career...something our own government cannot provide for us. Okay, they may have treated less better than they do to other ethnic minorities, but that is because our government has not treated us any better. If an Indian citizen or Japanese have problem with the British government, and he complain to their embassy or high commission, the embassy will take action on the citizen's complaint. By such action, the government [British government] will realise that yes the government of this group cares about their welfare. Indirectly, they will start taking notice of the group. However, whereby the group government does not give a damn about the welfare of their citizen, how will you expect the British government to care...?

(Male participant m10)

...Nigerians have themselves to blame if the British government sees us [Nigerians] as criminals. Each time that I read about financial fraud involving ethnic minorities, Nigerians must be involved. When you are behaving like that ...what do you expect from the British government? Surely, you cannot expect them to say that Nigerians are beacons of goodness and discipline. If we want to be regarded and respected, then we must first respect ourselves by not getting involved in organised fraud and deceptions. I am not suggesting that all Nigerians are criminals...do not get me wrong...but as you know that when few people within a community or group commits crime it does affect all the community in one form or the other, especially, in a racially segregated society like Britain.

(Female participant f2)

4.1.5 Experiences with Employers

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(Female participant f2)

4.1.5 Experiences with Employers

A persistent theme emerging in the data was the extents of racism Nigerian professional were exposed to in both work places and job market. They express that their colour invoked both overt and explicit expression of racism. Several participants recounted a range of experiences with employers in which they felt tacit discrimination.

How many of my experiences do you want to know about because they are many...? [Tell me the most recent, and the one you felt most strongly about.]

Okay, recently I applied for job as an IT consultant in a Bank. Despite the fact that I am more qualified than most of the other candidate, according to the manager of the bank...I was not selected even for the second round of interview.... Instead, the position was given to a white person whom I know because we work from the same agency. This person has only basic knowledge of project management.... they took him and sent him on training. While this person was on training, the bank requested my agency to send a consultant, and the agency sent me. They did not object...interestingly, they still remembered that I came for the job interview for the same position....This is just the beginning of my experiences. I do not want to bore you with what went on during my period of working with this bank as that will take the whole day.....but suffice that it was a very bad experience. On my view of employers in this country, I think that they are all racist with a very low understanding of Africans.

(Male participant m16)

I have worked in this hospital as a locum consultant for three years; during this period twice, there was vacancy for a consultant, which I applied for with other doctors who are mostly my juniors. On both occasions, I was not offered the job. Instead, they gave the job to one of the juniors. I supervised them....and in some cases rescued them from some major difficulties... Interestingly, no explanation was ever given for not offering me the job.

(Female participant f14)

For these participants they believe that British employers recognise them as being intelligent, but not intelligent enough to hold a responsible position within their organisations because their colour does not fit in:

I was sent to this company by my agency, (I will not give you the name of the company, but it is a very reputable multi-national institution) to work as a consultant for a week. After working for them for one week the manager called me into his office on the last day and asked me if I will like to take up the job permanently and I said to him that I will get back to him in a weeks time because I was going away to another assignment. When I eventually contacted him I told him that I will take the job...and 'bam'...the job was offered to me,

however after 10 months on the job, I was told that the company has decided to contract out the position. I took the reason on the face value and left.....three months after I left the position the position was given to a white person who was acting as my assistant.

(Male participant m7)

This participant felt too upset to recount her experiences with employers:

My experience with some employers in this country has been sadness, disappointment and regrets...I do not want to go into details...as I do not want to upset myself this afternoon. Some British employers are racist and they particularly dislike black Africans.

(Female participant f9)

However, some participants expressed very positive experiences with British employers. The following participant describes their experiences with employers as being non-discriminatory or racist:

I do not think that British employers are indiscriminately racists. In my opinion, I think that Nigerian professionals fail to learn the new cultural rules. For example, Nigerians speak very loud, and often the British people [employers] interpret what to them is a normal volume of discussion as near shouting. Therefore, I believe that it will be sensible if Nigerians can learn quickly the new rules of engagement.

(Female participant f10)

My experience with employers since I arrived in this country has not been bad...I have not encountered any problem .However, I am not suggesting that Africans are not having problem with obtaining decent jobs. I don't know whether one can honestly said that it is due to blatant discrimination as some people are suggesting. Instead, I think that our people [Nigerians] are partly to blame. Many of our people are involved in activities that damage our reputations. For example, look at the number of our brothers that are involved in 419 schemes (419 is a form of fraud more peculiar to Nigeria). Surely, you cannot accuse the British employers for being unfair if we cannot prove that we are trustworthy.

(Male participant m16)

I am not bogged down by comments, such as...Nigerians cannot obtain decent work because of discrimination, or that the employers are not interested in employing Nigerians. I believe that if Nigerians show their potential that they will not have problem obtaining decent job. I know that my answer may sound a bit idealistic...but that is how I see it. Employers in this country are not discriminating against Nigerian.

(Female participant f5)

4.1.6 Experiences with the mainstream population

The data also suggest a phenomenon which is not restricted to Nigerians alone but, affects all immigrants especially those from the African continent. The participants' accounts suggested that British mainstream population have less regard for Nigerian, and that this may have come about because of colonialism and the lack of strong economic and political strength possessed by some other ethnic minorities. Participant's associates the perceived discriminations with the government attitudes towards Nigerians and negative portrayal of Nigerians in the media. The experiences by the participants' can be categorised as both 'overt' and 'covert' prejudice and discrimination. 'Overt' acts of prejudice and discrimination include name-calling, intimidation and treatment with disrespect. 'Covert' discrimination, according to Waters (1990, 1997, 1999), means more "subtle forms of 'daily hassles', indignities and bad vibes that black immigrants experience constantly in interactions with whites".

The following participant describes their perceptions of the mainstream attitudes and behaviour towards Nigerians:

Although I have lived in this country for over twenty three years, theoretically I am British as I have British passport, but I am still amazed at the way British {whites} treat Africans including Nigerians. They have very low opinion of Nigerians, I do not know if it is out of ignorance or deliberate racism. In fact, sometimes I felt that they are just tolerating [Nigerians]. The way I see, it if they are given the chance I am sure they [white British] will ask all African to leave this country. They have not accepted us [Africans] as equals the way they have accepted some ethnic groups. I suspect that they still view us from the colonial angle.

(Female participant f03)

I am not really active in the political sense on issues relating to black and whites.....however, I feel that some British people {well some of them because I have encountered many...who are nice to me} still have less regard for Nigerians. They respect other ethnic groups more; I think it is because Africans do not have economic power or coherent authority that can voice out their concern like other ethnic groups.

(Male participant m08)

I think that British whites are racist; they do not like non-whites, particularly black people. They hated us because of the way the media portrays us. If you are presented to a wider public as a scrounger who is in this country to exploit the system, you are bound to be looked

at differently and be treated differently. Although I will also add that British government attitude contributes immensely to the way the British public look at us.

(Male participant m13)

The opinion of some participants' is that white people treat Nigerians as second-class human beings. However, they do not blame the white people entirely instead, they criticised Nigerian attitudes too which, they believes encourage such treatment:

For white people many of the ideas they have of Africans are stereotypical. They see Africans as third class citizen, who are only good as servants and slaves. Nevertheless, I believe that our attitude contributes to how they {whites} treat us.....we is too condescendingand so often feed the stereotype?

(Male participant m02)

There are so many white people out there that are so ignorantthey see almost all African as economic migrants who are after social security money.....They look down on us [Nigerian] because we accept all sort of dirty job and do what ever we are asked to do without question.....

(Female participant f05)

However, for some participants, they saw their experiences from a different perspective. The data show that some participants' learned some useful lessons from experiencing racism and stereotyping:

British society has made me very aware that I am different; therefore, from this point of view I am very grateful to them. Before I came to Britain I have so much regard and respect for white persons, this stems from my experiences with white missionaries that I worked with back in Nigeria, but not any more. When I asked him why he changed his perception of white people? His response was "so much racism and hatred from the white people".

(Female participant f09)

4.2 Discussion

The field of family management is dominated by quantitative research that focused narrowly on micro-social relationship between couples. This study used a different approach –

phenomenological hermeneutics and interpretive analysis to allow for a better insight in the immigrants professional perception of their present environment particularly, how they perceive various social systems surrounding them, which, may or may not have influence on their attitudes and behaviours towards family management. The findings suggest that scholars studying family management framework especially among immigrants have been overlooking some crucial variables that can play an important role in explaining management framework salient within a group.

In addition, the results justify some of the well-established research variables in the immigrant experiences in Britain: stereotyping, racism, discriminations etc. These elements are well studied by scholars looking at race relations and racial equality. On the other hand, the participants constantly referred to some themes that have been hardly addressed in the literature. For example, sending context, perception of self as guest, and idea of returning home etc. the fact that this study reveals these variables should not surprise, as some are hard to capture with quantitative studies, as they are immanent, tacit experiences – experiences that are more pertinent to immigrants, disabled people and other marginalized collectives. The findings suggest that instead of conceptualising family management framework purely from micro-social prism – one could include situational and structural experiences of the families in their new environment as a possible antecedent.

Regarding ‘sending context’ such as reason for immigrating to Britain, it appears that immigrant’s reason for immigrating influences their behaviours. For example, those who said they have come to live permanently in Britain seem to adopt a progressive family management framework that is in line with the British. Conversely, those who said that their stay in Britain is temporary for example, to acquire more education or economic seem to adopt a traditional family management framework which are pertinent to Nigèria. Similarly, perceiving oneself as guest or harbouring the intention of returning to the country of origin

can have a profound influence on the individuals' acculturation. Recent studies on parenting have shown that acculturated immigrants were more likely to adopt parenting style prevalent in the host society than the immigrants who are less acculturated (Jain & Belsky, 1997; Buriel, 1993). Other studies, however, found the opposite. Coltrane, Parke, and Adams (2004) demonstrated that less acculturated Mexican-Americans parents were more likely to supervise their children and engage with their children in more feminine-typed activities than the parents that are more acculturated. It is therefore plausible that immigrant couples who sees their stay in a host country as temporary and have in their psychic the intention to returning to their country of origin would not acculturate, consequently, may or may not adopt a family management framework that is similar to the host country.

This study finding suggests that in order to understand or put family management framework in immigrant professional families or other marginalized groups into context scholars need to address their perceived experiences and position in their new settings. Like other antecedents that can affects behaviours, their perceived experiences and goal in their new environment can have profound influences on their family management preferences. This study did not explore the influences of these variables, but the variables will helps to put into context the family management framework prevalent among these families.

A limitation of the study is that the findings are limited on a very specific sample, which may colour the result. The result reveal an overwhelming sense of discriminations, stereotyping and racism towards Nigerian professionals that could be the product of self-selection bias, since the participation in the research is voluntary. Other Nigerian immigrants who might not be as highly educated or privileged might have a different set of perception of their treatment in Britain and different set of goals or intentions. The inclusion of families of all types (i.e., single parents, divorced families, separated by distance families, families without resident permit or dual-nationality) would broaden our understanding of the differences and

similarities in Nigerians lived experiences in Britain. It also will make it possible to compare the influence of these variables on family management framework across diverse socio-economic groups and family structures.

To conclude, the innovative approach of this study has revealed some promising new lines of inquiry for the field of family management framework especially, immigrants and other collectives such as disabled people. Future research should draw on a broader and different sample to replicate this study and check the generalizability of the findings. Should future research replicate these variables, then it may have a strong implication for theoretical development in family management.

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CHAPTER FIVE

Immigrant Nigerian professional dual-earner Couples Attitude to Gender Roles

5.1 Empirical findings

The results do not offer clear support for any of the two theories in both husbands, and wives expressed attitudes. However, if all the variables measured are considered, their dispositions seem to favour a ‘hybrid- disposition’ that is sandwiched between traditional and liberal ideals. For example, the respondents’ expressed support for a gender equity ideal if husbands and wives make equal financial contribution to the family budget from their earnings. While on the hand, they expressed support for traditional gendered roles ideals if both husbands’ and wives’ are both in employment. Majority of the respondents’ rejected the idea of role reversal - that is the concept of a husband taking over the responsibility of managing the home while wife takes over the responsibility of the main provider. Similarly, they expressed strong support for a patriarchal family structure. The greatest difference between husbands and wives’ attitudes was found in question relating to home/public sphere, i.e. husbands’ main responsibility is to earn and wife main responsibility is to look after the home. The wives dispositional characteristics are more conservative than the husband’s are in most issues.

With these broadly outlined findings in mind, I discuss below in more detail the respondent’s perceptions starting with family structure.

The result indicates prevalent of both “gender traditional” and “gender progressive” attitude toward family management framework. There responses reflected both ‘gender traditional’ and ‘gender progressive’ attitudes towards gender roles. Consistent with Hawley’s (1986) ecological proposition, these respondents’ attitudes to gender roles appears to reflect their social orientations back in their country of origin. However, absence of longitudinal data measuring the gender roles

attitude of these respondents' makes it difficult for me to establish whether these respondents are more or less progressive in their attitudes towards gender roles.

The respondents showed more "cultural continuity" with family power, a comparison of the couple's answers shows a little divergence, both husband and wife reported more traditional attitudes to role reversal between husband and wife, higher proportion of the husbands' reported traditional attitudes than their wives. Both husbands' and wives' reported gender progressive attitudes towards sharing domestic work and child-care should husband and wife make equal contribution to family budget from their earnings. In addition, higher proportion of husbands' reported progress gender attitudes to sharing domestic work equitably if both husband and wife work are in full time employment; whereas, more wives than husbands reported greater agreement that husband should perform more domestic tasks if both couple contributes to family budget.

5.1.1 Gender role attitudes toward power distribution

The measurement of power distribution between couples has been highly controversial in the literature; several theoretical and techniques questions, not the least the cultural angle are almost impossible to solve. Guided by the Eichlar (1973) concept, I have developed a complementary measure that tries to tap a more meaningful of power distribution with the immigrant Nigerian professional couples. This idea is attempt to grapple with conceptual problem that plague measure of power used by research in the resource theory perspective – the theory that dominate this area in the family power research. First, at least in theory, there is no reason intrinsic to Blood & Wolf's theory to rely heavily or even exclusively on financial resources as a possible reason for internal asymmetries – gender inequality in the performance of domestic work between couples. It is possible that other types of resources could obey to the same theoretical logic, provided they are central enough to the couples functioning, especially within a cultural different from the cultures that guided Blood & wolf's "objectivist" approach or logic. Secondly, in some culture, what constitute resources that can influence power between couples can vary i.e. status position,

cultural power etc, similarly, it is even more difficult to determine in a non-normative way which of the partners' capacities constitutes relevant resources. In addition, even supposing they are measured correctly, it is questionable whether an objectivist comparison of the respective resources corresponds to couples' reality as it is possible for partners to define their proper private equilibrium in a way that is not adequately indicated by equal quantities of a given resources. For example, during my focus group study, I asked the group who makes most important decision in a Nigerian family. the diverse responses that I received, gave support to the above argument, the consensus was that decision are taking by the person who is responsible for a specific area of family work i.e. wives' takes main decisions on issues relating to food, child-care etc. irrespective of their financial resources. Similarly, the question of who is the boss in a Nigerian family produced very philosophical responses to quote the salient response from the focus group "husbands are the head and we the wives are the neck, but as you know neck directs the head". Thus asking power structure in terms of cultural significance could be closer to capturing reality of couples' attitudes. This approach can be seen as an adoption of the position approach to family power assessment in the context of the family culture. The question 'who is really in control of a Nigerian family' was seen therefore as a compromise. As table 5.1 reveals, over 90% of the respondents (wives and husbands) prefer husbands as the person really in control of a Nigerian family; less than a tenth (4% of husbands' and 3 % of wives') reported sharing; only about 1% report do not know . The findings can be interpreted in at least two ways. First, the norm of husbands' as one in control of a Nigerian family may have been accepted by the couples because of the cultural definition of marriage in Nigerian society i.e. in Nigerian society, husbands must be seen both inside and outside to be in control irrespective of what the couple's might believe. Secondly, these couple's may also accept that defining husbands as been in control of the family may reflect their private, sub-cultural norm as a mechanism for safe-guiding family ability.

5.1.2 Role reversal between husband and wife

Role reversal (i.e. wife working outside the home and husband staying home and look after the children) explored the extent to which the couples' has embraced progressive gender role attitudes. The frequency analysis performed separately for husband and wife show that higher proportion of husbands 94% versus 81% of wives disagree or strongly disagree with the idea of role reversal. About 15% of wives and 6% of husbands expressed neither agreement nor disagreement to role reversal, which, in Nigerian culture may be an indication of agreement. Only 4% of the wives and none of the husbands expressed agreement with role reversal. The finding showed that even in the 21st century Britain where the collective programming of the minds is moving the society towards "gender homophily" (England and Farkas, 1986), that these immigrant Nigerians professionals are not yet ready to shed their traditional ideologies. Although, it is important to recognise that what is measured was the respondent's attitudes rather than their actual behaviour. It is plausible that in reality both husbands and wives may support role reversal especially, if the husband is incapacitated or unemployed.

5.1.3 Attitude towards sharing family work

Two of the attitudes question dealt with the issue of sharing family work and provider role if both couple work outside the home. – if both husband and wife work full time domestic tasks should be shared and if both husband and wife makes equal contribution from their earnings to family budget child-care and domestic tasks should also be shared. This is aimed at understanding the extent these couples have embraced progressive gender role attitudes. The respondent's attitudes (see table 1), show some variation between husbands and wives. The result showed that more than half of husbands expressed agreement (53%) that domestic work should be shared if both husband and wife are in full time employment whereas only 46% of wives agree. About 46% of wives and

0% of husbands expressed disagreement, also 8% of wives versus 7% of husbands reported do not know.

However, more wives 57% reported strong agreement that domestic work and child-care should be shared if both couples contributes to family budget compared with 49% of the husbands. About 10% of husband versus 43% of wives expressed disagreement, only 1% of husbands reported do not know.

Table 5.1 Percentages of Couples attitudes about who is in-control of a Nigerian family, role reversal; sharing domestic/childcare tasks if both couples are in full employment or makes equal financial contribution.

Variables	Husbands responses			Wives responses			N
Who is really in control of a Nigerian family	husband	Shared	Don't know	husband	Shared	Don't know	286
	96%	4%	0%	97%	3%	1%	
Wife should go out and work while, husband should stay home and look after the home	Strongly disagree/ disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Strongly agree/agree	Strongly disagree/disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Strongly agree/agree	
	96%	6%	0%	81%	15%	4%	286
Share domestic/childcare tasks if couple are in full time employment							
	40%	7%	53%	46%	8%	46%	286
Share domestic/childcare if both couple makes equal financial contribution to family budget							
	43%	0%	57%	50%	1%	49%	286

5.2 Discussions and Conclusions

The aim of this chapter was to explore attitudes towards gender roles among immigrant Nigerian professional dual-earner couples who were born in a country dominated by traditional gender role ideology, but were now exposed to progressive gender role ideology by virtue of immigration. In addition, as observed in the previous chapter they seem to differ in many ways with their surrounding ecological system i.e. perceiving themselves as marginalized and discriminated against by the mainstream majority. The theoretical basis for this study was an ecological approach, which claims that various social systems surrounding individuals, tends to influence his/her attitudes. For the most part, the finding inversely confirm this theoretical approach, but also point to the new direction of thinking and offers research challenge regarding immigrants from traditionally dominated gender role living in a progressive dominated gender role philosophy.

Overall, the difference in gender role attitude between the couples shows little divergence. Both husband and wife reported identical responses on family structure i.e. the person who is really in charge of a Nigerian family. It is however important to understand that being in control does not necessarily equate to being the powerful as; control in the Nigerian family context is culturally prescribed. For a couple to command respect in their community, husbands' must be seen to be in control of the family, and wife must be seen to be showing that the husband is in control of the family. Hence, it is difficult to separate whether the overwhelming support of husbands, as the person who should be in control of a Nigerian family was merely expression of 'cultural correctness' as much as personal convictions. Probably, only a qualitative investigation will give clear explanation behind the apparently one-dimensional views by the couple.

The process of immigration may influence individual to develop a more gender progressive attitude as they are exposed to a more gender progressive culture especially, if they are in a minority. Also, the immigrants 'lived experiences' in their new environment may convince them to retain gender role ideology reminiscent to the gender role ideology salient in their country of origin (Nigeria). Three items that was used to explore the above logic shows that progressive gender attitude philosophy prevalent in Britain seem to be having some influence in the attitudes of these respondents.

Both husband and wife attitudes to sharing domestic work were measured with two questions and the couples reported a greater progressive gender role attitude. Interestingly more husbands reported support for sharing domestic work if both couple is in a full-time employment than their wives. Perhaps, the combination of financial need and unique circumstances which, have confounded the husbands' ability to provide for the family without the assistance of his wife (as prescribed by the Nigerian custom) may have forced the husbands hand to support in principle the idea of sharing domestic task. In addition, it could be plausible that higher proportion of husbands' expressing support for sharing domestic tasks could be an expression of recognition of their wife effort or another way for husbands to protect their egos. Similarly, the wives might be showing restraint to protect their husbands' egos. More importantly, the slightly lower support for sharing domestic tasks if both couple is in full-time employment could be a reflection of practices salient back in Nigeria. Back in Nigeria, wives are expected to earn money either by working or trading and still take care of the family, although, couples tends to get support from the extended family, grand parents and their wider community with child-care and domestic tasks. However, they are not culturally expected to bear the main burden of providing for the family, instead, they are expected to provide support to their husband (Aronson, 1980).

The responses to the following question (that domestic tasks should be shared if both couples contribute to the family budget from their earning) may help to explain further the pattern of views expressed above. For example, more wives than husbands expressed more support for sharing tasks if they both contribute from their earnings to the family budget. The attitudes expressed by wives could also be viewed as forcefully enacting the cultural prescription that main provider role is husbands' responsibility so, if they are expected to contribute beyond what is culturally expected then they expect husbands to share more in responsibility that are culturally prescribed for wives (i.e. domestic tasks and child-care). However, husbands' greater expression of disagreement could be another means of husbands asserting their cultural authority thus, sees expressing support for sharing domestic tasks as losing their masculine authority. Again, reality of life as immigrant may force husbands to perform domestic tasks irrespective of their belief.

In summing up the finding, it must be recognized that the sample for this study is not representative of the general population of Nigerian immigrant families in Britain, but a section of the highly educated and dual-earner couples. Therefore, in order to arrive at a broader conclusion regarding the items measured in this study, future research will have to focus on other forms of families. In addition, it is not possible from the findings to determine if there is still general acceptance of norms of strict role segregation or if the findings can be interpreted as moderate acceptance of a more progressive gender role attitude because of lack of past study, which, can be used to compare the findings. However, it is plausible that all the observation point to two possible conclusion: first that traditional norm of family structure was salient among these families, secondly, that the couples expressed views are evolving towards a more progressive gender role norms than the traditional gender role attitude.

In an attempt to enhance our understanding of the prevalent family management framework within the immigrant Nigerian professional dual-earner families, we have analysed the respondent's attitudes towards the apportionment of 'family work' between husbands and wives. My results show that in nearly all the variables measured that both husbands and wives held strong traditional gendered attitudes. They do not seem to support the argument that women who have experienced oppression or discrimination in families, who lack opportunities, and who are relegated to lower position in society, family, and politics might develop feminist values and willingness to fight against inequality and thus have more egalitarian attitudes towards family work (see for example, Banaszak & Plutzer, 1993). We also found that although both husbands and wives hold traditional views on apportionment of family work, wives are generally more traditional than their husbands are. Again our finding, contradicts some research finding that suggests that wives are generally less traditional than their husbands are (see for example, Morgenson & Tanner, 1983).

The differences observed in this analysis exposes the deficiency in what I may call 'universal' model often adopted by some western social scientists in presenting their research findings (see for example, Oppenheimer, 1997). The 'universality' models tend to marginalise cultural variations among the population in order to maintain a façade of commonality in attitude in their conclusions (Gergen, 1996; Watts, 2003; Potts, 2003; Lock & Misra, 1996). At the individual level, when the results were examined separately by gender, the analysis revealed that younger wives and younger husbands were relatively, less supportive of traditional division of family work than the older wives and husbands. Overall, wives and husbands with higher degree expressed strong support for the traditional arrangement than anticipated. The finding contradicts Apparala et al, (2003) findings that wives improved resources was positively related to egalitarian attitudes towards division of household tasks. The husbands and wives who are members of Nigerian tribal association expressed stronger support for the traditional arrangement than those that who are not

members. Similarly, religious affiliation seems to influence both the husbands and wives attitudes towards division of 'family work'.

In relation to the bigger picture of the family management framework, our findings show that attitudinal stances displayed by the respondents conform partly to Alwin and Scott's description (1996) of the link between people's attitudinal responses and their earlier socialization and identity formation. For instance, for wives to make equal contribution to the family budget and consequently, sharing of domestic work equally would be expected to produce 'unstable' attitudinal responses because this is a new phenomenon that came about because of change in individual circumstances. Thus, what this result has shown is that immigrant Nigerian families' worldview and psychology on how family work should be managed is still very much influenced by customary norms they inherited from Nigeria. In addition, the rigid Nigerian customary laws that influence marriage rituals and the idealisation of domesticity for wives and provider role for husbands makes shift away from gendered apportionment of family work difficult for these immigrants. For sure, these customs safeguard Nigerian couples from what Hochschild (1989) describes as 'fractured identities' suffered by the western society couples. This is because the additional marriage customs has in part resolved this conflict; they understand their expected role in the marriage from the beginning. Although, I am not in any way suggesting that most immigrant wives are happy with the arrangement, as that would be a false presentation. What I am suggesting however is that they have not shown evidence of 'fractured identity' in the way that Hochschild (1989) and others are suggesting judging from their expressed disposition. The result raised some interesting issues: first, it has shown that individual conformity to conventional role is not entirely an outcome of socialization processes, instead that a degree of 'choice' is involved.

In sum, the finding in this chapter has shown that attitudes towards gendered division of family work are influenced by several factors and not purely inequality in social-structure or economic

empowerment as some researchers have suggested. Their experiences in their present environment, the influence of available social support, and personal ‘choice’, and their earlier socialisation seem to have combined to influence their attitudes.

What is not examined in this chapter however, is the actual behaviour of the respondents. It is reasonable to assume that the respondent’s actual behaviour will provide further understanding, which, will help complete the emerging picture of family management framework among the immigrants families.

CHAPTER SIX

The relative Participation and Responsibility for Family work by Husband and Wife

6.1.1 Domestic tasks

The first stage of the analyses examines relative performance of domestic tasks between husbands and wives. Table 6.2 shows relative performance of domestic tasks between husbands and wives. The table presents proportion of domestic tasks performed by husbands and by wives, as well as the person mainly responsible for the tasks. The results show that wives perform greater proportion of cooking/shopping, washing/ironing, cleaning, and washing up tasks than their husbands. The results show some consistency with other studies of domestic division of labour in the western industrialised society. It also shows inconsistency with the media hype about modernisation and widespread egalitarianism taking hold in the society. On average, (i.e. combining husbands and wives reports) wives performs over (79%) of all domestic tasks while husbands performs about (6%); the report also shows that over (25%) of all domestic tasks are shared between husbands' and wives'. On the other hand, the result shows some differences between wives and husbands report, wives report shows that on average (30%) of all domestic tasks measured are shared whereas, husband reports that just under (20%) are shared. Indicating perhaps that husband' and wives' did not view actual performance of domestic tasks through the same lens. Table 6.2 also explores husbands and wives' relative responsibility for domestic tasks in terms of who is answerable for the overall domestic task in the family. The result indicates that wives are mostly responsible for domestic

tasks. Overall, the result reveals that wives are responsible for 89% of all domestic tasks while their husbands are responsible for about 4% of domestic tasks.

Table 6.2 Relative Division and Performance of Domestic work by Husband and Wife

Husband	Reported by Wife			Reported by		
	Mainly husband	Shared equally	Mainly wife	Mainly husband	Shared equally	Mainly wife
Cooking/shopping	8	34	58	0	14	86
Washing and Ironing	9	30	59	8	23	67
House Cleaning	9	32	59	3	15	82
Washing up after meals	5	24	74	3	28	69
Responsibility for domestic tasks	4	9	87	4	82	14
BASE: 286						

6.1.2 Childcare Task

Table 6.3 shows husbands and wives' relative division and performance of childcare tasks. The result reveals that on average 67% of wives look after their children on their own compared with the husbands average of 4%; that they also take care of their children more when they are sick 70% against their husbands' 0%. The result show also that husbands share more in both looking after the children and caring for them when they are sick (30% & 34% according to wives and 37% & 30% according to husbands).

The wives reports that one in three of husbands share in looking after the children when they are sick and that about 27% of husbands share in looking after their children most

times. Overall, the findings show that wives perform more childcare tasks than do their husbands. Similarly, the result show that wives are mainly responsible for childcare tasks (62% according to wives and 54% according to husbands). The finding depicts Nigerian customary ethos, which, prescribe that the primary responsibility for bringing up children belong to wives and not husbands (Uchendu, 1970; Emechata, 1985; Babatunde, 1995). It also confirms earlier research report on black families mainly in America (see for example, Wilson et al. 1990), that black wives take care of their childcare more than their husbands do. Husbands level of participation in childcare tasks need some comments: the behaviour they displayed is consistent with what Parson (1955) calls “instrumental leadership” (see also Babatunde explanation of a father’s role in childcare in Yoruba customs, 1995). In both parsons and Babatunde analogy, a good husband is one who is “a good family man”; as such, he is supportive in caring for his children and helps them to become successful. Parson’s has not suggested that husbands should effectively take over the responsibility of childcare rather they will be active participants.

Table 6.3 Relative Division and Performance of child care tasks by husband and wife

Husband	Reported by Wife			Reported by			
	Categories	Mainly husband	Shared equally	Mainly wife	Mainly husband	Shared equally	Mainly wife
	Look after children most times	4	27	69	4	37	59
	Take care of children when sick	0	30	70	0	30	70
	Responsibility of for childcare	4	34	62	7	39	54
	BASE: 286						

6.1.3 House-services tasks

Table 6.4 shows husbands and wives’ relative performance/division of house-services tasks. As shown in Table 6.4, husbands’ performance most of the house services tasks. Gender differences were apparent; a much higher percentage of husbands’ than wives performs house-services tasks (98% versus 1%). The result also shows that husbands are mainly responsible for the house services tasks 99% versus 1% shared).

Unlike the other areas of family work analysed previously, the house-services tasks appears as one area of family work where the conventional division of labour has changed least.

Table 6.4 Relative Division and Performance of house services tasks by husband and wife

Husband	Reported by Wife			Reported by		
	Mainly Husband	Shared equally	Mainly wife	Mainly Husband	Shared equally	Mainly wife
Repair household equipment	97	2	1	99	1	0
Responsibility for house services tasks	99	1	0	99	1	0
BASE: 286						

6.1.4 Providers Role

The result in Table 6.5 shows husbands and wives’ financial contributions to family budget from their earnings. As the result indicates, husbands’ earnings seem to accounts for the bulk of their family budget (83% versus 6%). Put differently, over 83% of the

husbands reports spending over 75% of their earnings on their family against 6% of the wives.

The wives relatively lower financial contribution to the running of the family is consistent with practices prevalent in Nigeria society (see Babatunde, 1995; Fadipe, 1990). Husbands are still predominantly the breadwinner and responsible for dealing with large spending, while their wives manages smaller expenditures such as buying children clothing, arranging birthday parties etc. It is apparent from the finding that ‘twenty-first century equality ethos’ has not penetrated these immigrant respondents’ psychics, at least enough to encourage more sharing of financial provision for running the family. Adopting Nock (2001) “marriage of equal dependent model” (MEDS) which suggested that neither husband or wife earn less than 40 percent of family total income, the pattern of provider role observed among the respondents’ does not seem to meet that criteria.

Table 6.5 Relative Financial Contributions to the Family Budget by Husband and Wife

Categories	Husband %	Wife %
75% - 100%	83	6
50% - 74%	10	5
00% - 49%	7	89
BASE =286		

6.2 Comparative analyses of responsibility for family work by socio-cultural characteristics

We have analysed the respondents’ reports on performance/responsibility for various family work without taking into consideration their socio-demographic and socio-cultural characteristics.

This section looks more closely at how the socio-demographic and socio-cultural characteristics of the respondents influences who is responsible for a particular strand of family work. I measure responsibility for family work by the couples age, level of education, whether member of Nigerian community association, and religiosity of the couple. The findings contrast earlier result which examined performance of family work. The result shows that responsibility for family work is strongly gender specific – wives are predominantly responsible for domestics and childcare tasks, while husbands are predominantly responsible for house services tasks.

Table 6.6: Percentage of Relative responsibility for Domestic tasks and Child-care tasks by respondents Socio-economic and Socio-cultural characteristics

Wives report

Husbands

report

Tasks	Characteristics	Mainly wives	Mainly husband	Shared equally	N	Mainly wives	Mainly husbands	Shared equally	N
	Age								
Domestic tasks	24-29	83	0	17	143	67	0	33	143
	30-35	86	0	12		86	0	7	
	36-41	91	0	9		69	0	28	

	42-47	64	0	36		76	2	21			
	48-53	72	0	28		67	6	27			
	54-59	50	0	50		73	0	27			
	60+	100	0	0		75	0	25			
	Religiosity										
	Very religious	89	0	11		90	0	10			
	Somewhat religious	78	0	22		82	0	18			
	Not religious	80	0	20		80	0	20			
	Membership of association										
	member	72	2	27		66	3	31			
	Not member	83	0	17		79	1	18			
	Educational Qualification										
	HND/professional	81	0	19		53	6	41			
	Degree	81	0	19	77	3	19				
	High degree	75	2	23	74	0	26				
	Age										
Childcare tasks	24-29	92	0	8		50	0	50			
	30-35	50	15	35		57	7	34			
	36-41	53	7	40		59	0	41			
	42-47	58	10	32		55	5	41			
	48-53	56	11	33		68	6	27			
	54-59	60	0	40		64	0	36			
	60+	100	0	0		63	0	38			
	Religiosity										
	Very religious	75	0	25		45	10	45			
	Somewhat religious	70	2	28		55	2	43			
	Not religious	68	5	27		65	0	35			
	Membership of association										
	member	59	10	31		60	3	37			
	Not member	57	17	37		59	4	37			
	Educational Qualification										
	HND/professional	44	19	38			47	0		53	

	Degree	54	5	41		60	3	36	
	High degree	66	9	25		61	5	33	

6.2.1 Relative responsibility for domestic tasks

The finding in Table 6.6 shows the percentages of husbands and wives reports on who is responsible in the family for domestic and childcare tasks. Turning to the proportions for domestic tasks, we see that wives were overwhelmingly for responsible domestic tasks compared to their husbands. Interestingly, the patterns do not vary greatly for husbands and wives in relation to age, educational qualifications etc. We also observe gendered and age variations in the respondents’ reports. On average husbands reported higher responsibility than thought their wives. Younger respondents’ (i.e. those within 25-29 years age bands) on average reported more sharing than the older respondents. The respondent’s educational attainment did not have much influence in the pattern of responsibility for domestic tasks. Our result showed that wives with higher degree are responsible for domestic tasks as much as wives with lesser degrees similarly, husbands with higher degree do not take up more responsibility for domestic tasks. The influence of religion does not make significant different in the pattern of responsibility pattern observed, although report by respondents’ with lesser religious belief and those who are not religious showed a relative stronger sharing of responsibility than couples who very religious. The finding also shows that those respondents who are members of a Nigerian community association reported more sharing of responsibility than those who are not members.

Broadly, there is stronger congruence in the wives and husbands respondents' in the responsibility pattern observed.

6.2.2 Relative responsibility for child care tasks.

In relation to childcare, the result in Table 6.6 show that on average the pattern of responsibility for child cares tasks is less polarized. The table shows that across all the socio-cultural characteristics that respondents reported high percentage of sharing in responsibility for childcare (an average of 40%). One interesting, observation is among younger respondents where young wives saw their husbands' as less involved than husbands saw themselves. Similarly, those husbands' who are very religious reported more sharing than their wives (45% versus 25%). The educational attainment of the respondents has very little influence relatively in their responsibility for the childcare tasks. Couples with higher degree reported on average greater sharing in childcare responsibility compared with couples with lesser degrees. The finding partially supports Brines (1993) and John & and Shelton (1997) argument that higher education as a proxy for gender ideology reflects nontraditional values. It is also noteworthy that religiosity do seem to have some influence on the pattern of responsibility pattern for childcare tasks. Both husbands and wives with strong religious belief reported higher percentage of husbands' being mainly responsible for childcare tasks. In general responsibility for the childcare tasks it will seem is influenced more by socio/cultural characteristics than it did to domestic tasks.

Table 6.7: Percentage of Relative responsibility for House services tasks by respondents Socio-economic and Socio-cultural characteristics

Wives report

Husbands

report

Tasks	Characteristics	Mainly wives	Mainly husband	Shared equally	N	Mainly wives	Mainly husbands	Shared equally	N
	Age								
House services tasks	24-29	0	100	0	143	0	100	0	143
	30-35	0	100	0		0	100	0	
	36-41	0	100	0		0	100	0	
	42-47	0	97	3		0	97	3	
	48-53	0	100	0		0	100	0	
	54-59	0	100	0		0	100	0	
	60+	0	100	0		0	100	0	
	Religiosity								
	Very religious	0	100	0		0	100	0	
	Somewhat religious	0	100	0		0	100	0	
	Not religious	0	100	0		0	100	0	
	Membership of association								
	member	0	98	2		0	97	3	
	Not member	0	100	0		1	98	1	
	Educational Qualification								
	HND/professional	0	100	0		0	100	0	
	Degree	0	100	0		2	98	0	
	High degree	0	98	2		0	95	5	

6.2.3 Relative responsibility for house-services tasks.

Contrary to the responsibility pattern observed in both childcare and domestic tasks, responsibility for the house-services tasks as the result in Table 6.7 shows is the least

shared tasks. The result shows little influence of the respondents' socio-economic characteristics in the pattern of this strand of family work. Respondents of all ages reported that husbands are mainly responsible for the house services tasks similarly; the respondent's educational qualifications seem to have little influence either. Wives respondents' responsibility for house-services is negligible thus, contradicting the argument that higher relative resources between husband and wife increases shared arrangement in most family tasks. The pattern of responsibility for house services tasks seems to support the traditional gender role model.

6.3 Discussion and Conclusion

The analyses reported here suggest two main conclusions. First the responsibility for strands of family work is still gender specific. Put differently, the family traditionalism is not dead yet. The expectation that wives movement into paid employment would lead to change in the responsibility for strands of family work between husband and wife has not been realized among this immigrant Nigerian professional dual-earner couples. Responsibility for domestic and childcare tasks still rest with the wives, and responsibility for house services tasks still rest with the husbands. Although there is some evidence that responsibility for childcare task is more devolved than the responsibility for domestic tasks and house services tasks.

Second there is evidence of slight variation in the performances of family work by husband and wife. On the domestic tasks, wives still perform bulk of tasks within the domestic tasks remit (i.e. cooking, cleaning etc.); however, there is evidence that husbands are performing more domestic tasks. The main departure from the traditional

norm is the greater participation in childcare tasks by husbands. At the same time, the performance of house services tasks remains unaffected. Interestingly, the husband breadwinner model has much less disappeared; husbands still provides the bulk of finance for running of their family.

Using the same method for calculating all the components of activities that combined to form family work (i.e. productive and reproductive activities) enable a common analysis of the domains. Considering the percentage estimate of responsibility for various components of family work, wives appears to bear bulk responsibility for the tasks under domestic domain and child care domain; while husbands are responsible for the most of tasks within the house-services domain and provider responsibility. Judging from these findings, it would appear that family traditionalism is not dead among this sub-group of Nigerian professional families. It also implies that individual couples have a limited leeway to influence the condition under which the family work is distributed. Thus, suggesting that the institutional environment and some of the antecedents discussed in chapter two have considerable influences on how couples allocate responsibilities in their families. In this perspective, a considerable part of family structure appears to be institutionalized indirectly by exogenous social rhythms and structures as much as or even more than by the personal beliefs and inter-personal negotiations of individual couples.

Turning to the actual performances of the tasks, we observed a modernized family traditionalism instead of out-right traditionalism observed earlier. There were evidences of more active participation by husbands especially, in the performance of childcare tasks. The observed pattern is called ‘modernized family traditionalism’ because the

wider picture does not fit perfectly with the neo-traditional or complimentary roles model – where one person does more paid work and the other more unpaid work, it does not also fit well with the collaborative or shared-roles models or the double burden models. The evidence from this analysis suggests that it is vital when analyzing family work not to combine ‘responsibility for tasks’ and ‘performance of tasks’. By measuring ‘relative responsibility’ for aspects of family work and ‘relative performances’ of aspects of family work separately as I have done shows that neo-classical traditional performance of family work between dual-earner professional couples is not as pervasive, as one would imagine.

The measure of variations in the performances of family work by couples socio-economic and socio-cultural characteristics reveal that husbands are more likely to report performance arrangement that imply more wives participation in domestic work and child care, while wives are more likely to report arrangement that imply more shared roles. The age cohorts are also significant predictors of the performance arrangement of paid and unpaid work. The younger husbands and wives respondents reported on average less shared roles than the older husbands and wives respondents did. Overall wives dominance in the performance of child-care tasks seems to be less when all the socio-economic and socio-cultural conditions are considered. The only variable where the characteristics had little influence is the house-services tasks. There is evidence of lower shared-role arrangement and a higher evidence of a resilience of traditionalism.

Contrary to many research findings as I have pointed out elsewhere which suggested that higher educational qualification encourages liberal orientations, we find that respondents

with higher qualifications does not seem to perform more or less tasks than those with lesser college or university degree.

It is also noteworthy that membership of Nigerian community association did influence the propensity towards sharing than did the non-memberships. Interestingly, wives who are members of Nigerian community association reported higher less sharing of tasks than did wives who are non-members thus, suggesting that membership of Nigerian community associations maybe confounding these wives progress towards liberal orientations. Membership or non-membership of Nigerian community association seems to have little influence on husbands reported participation patterns. Common with the general assumptions, religiosity did have influence in the propensity towards more family traditionalism. Indeed, in most tasks highly religious couples reported strong family traditionalism.

In sum, of the socio –demographic and cultural factors considered, a modernization of family traditionalism seem to be more salient especially, child care tasks. There is one unexpected result, I expected to observe higher family traditionalism amongst older couples since they have spend more years in a society where family traditionalism models is prescribed as a basis for holding families together (Durkheim, 1960 [1893]: 60). Instead, they seem to report relatively more shared-role arrangement than complimentary model arrangement. It would appear that these older respondents are reacting much better with changes in their circumstances than they were credited.

Given the nature of the data and the consequent analysis carried out, it is difficult to determine the extent to which the observed patterns are function of constraints experienced by the respondents as immigrants or a result of other factors. In addition, the

lack of previous studies on family management in the Nigerian professional dual-earners families living in Britain restricted the possibility of testing whether these families are progressive in their behaviors or not. For sure, the analysis have provided us with insight to the family management framework prevalent among this sub-group of immigrant dual-earner families, what it did not tell us is the reason for the arrangements observed.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

A qualitative study of Predictors of ‘Modernized traditional’ Family Management framework by Immigrant Nigerian Dual-earner Couples

7.1 Result summary

This section presents broad summary of responses offered by the participants’ as to why they supported what I called ‘modernized family traditionalism’ models. The participants’ responses are treated as a dimension, which reflects their constructed reasons. For simplification, we group the responses into the following types as, illustrated in table 7.1.

Figure 7.1: Broad Categories of Reasons for the ‘modernized traditionalism’

Categories of reasons	Numbers **
Up-bringing/gender ideology	4,5,9,18,2,1,11,18,7,3
Situation/practicality/utilitarianism	7,11,5,9,12,6,17
Interactions with Nigerian community	1,3,9,11,15,16,2,13
Religious teachings	1,3,9,11,15,16,2,13
Self-identity	1,18,17,11,14,16,3,6,7,8,4,5
Equality un-important	2,3,6,1,13,16, 1, 5
Fairness, Responsiveness, and appreciation	4,8,6,1,13,18,11,5,2

** The numbers in each box corresponds with the identity of informants whose response agreed with the category.

Many informants it seem, believe that how they were socialised as children has strong influence in their belief and attitudes of how family work should be patterned within marriages. They belief that by raising women to see domestic work as their main domain and men to see provider and protector role as their main domain has affected their psychology with regards to division of family work.

Secondly, they cited very frequently the importance of their family role in their self-identity. They believe that fulfilling their primary roles in their families gives them better sense of purpose as a person.

Thirdly, the informants saw their interactions within the Nigerian community in both Nigeria and London as a major influencing factor; similarly, many saw religious teachings as a major factor. They also suggested that cost-benefit factor is instrumental to popularity of the ‘modernized traditionalism’ model, as well as practicality considering their immediate experiences in London [i.e. the absence of extended family]. The most profound revelation from the informants in my view are: a) the none negative perception of the division of family work, b) the lack of the urge for equality, and c) the value attached to spouses responsiveness and appreciation. This section presents descriptive analysis of the participants’ comments on what they belief contributed to the pattern of division of family work between husbands and wives.

7.1.1 Ideological Belief about Husbands and Wives Responsibilities

Contrary to contemporary thinking about traditional belief in the role of husbands and wife in a relationship for example, the argument that women’s participation in paid work would somehow change both women’s and men’s social beliefs about husbands’ and wives responsibilities in a relationship (Bernier, et al., 1996).

Repeatedly, in the interviews with both husbands and wives’, I was struck by how strongly they still believed in the ethos of their up bringing about what a wife’s’ or husband’s core duty should be in a relationship... It was even more surprising to me that despite changes in their socio-economic circumstances and living very far away from their extended family that they still hold such a very strongly views.

Although, not all the informants shared such belief, for these informants such ethos was relevant at the time because ‘commodification’ of family tasks and childcare is less widespread. Those who expressed such ambivalence seem to be in a tiny minority hence, I did not give their comments a separate theme.

For the majority of the informants however, they were not surprised that modernized traditional management framework of family work persists with Nigerian families living in London. They saw the framework as natural for example; this comment came from a 42-year-old male interviewee (m1) seem to support these views:

...Customarily both husband and wife has responsibility in the family... we were made to realize this from childhood. Our parents started early to prepare us for these roles. Girls were taught how to be a good mother, wife and at the same time self respect and independent while, boys were taught how to be a good provider [provider in a wider context, not mere provider of money] protector of their family and good companion...

Such up- bringing seems to have strong influence in shaping some these informants' characters in later life. One can see this from their answers to general questions on why what I called hybrid traditional arrangements of dividing family work is persistent within the professional dual-earner Nigerian families living in London. Twelve of the eighteen participants cited in their answers that how they were raised up is instrumental to the prevalence of traditional pattern.

As a 35-year-old female interviewee (f11) who has lived in London for more than ten years commented:

...I believe that how we Nigerians were brought up has a strong influence on how we manage our marital relationships including how we divide our family work...speaking for myself, I would say that it does influence how I relate to my family and vice-versa...

Other informants described more specifically, how their up bringing has practically made it difficult for them to consider any other arrangement. For some of these informants, they viewed any other pattern as a recipe that could trigger split or difficulties in their household. These groups of informant views seems to support Durkheim (1960 [1893] suggestion that if we “permit the sexual division of labour to

recede below a certain level...conjugal society would eventually subsist in sexual relations preeminently ephemeral.”

For example, 45-years -old male interviewee (m3) said:

How we were raised prepared us differently for life as a team, and that means that husbands are more competent in some sphere and women on others. Nigerian wives are better in organizing things than their husbands. They know how to prepare Nigerian food, manage financiers. They are also better at nurturing than men. Therefore, if one is looking to know why division of family work takes a gender line, these factors must be considered...any attempt to move this arrangement in my view will lead to problem...

Next common explanations offered which also relates to early socialisation was the natural aptitude and physique. In both point, the explanation are that natural aptitude in both girls and boys is carefully nurtured so as to enable them apply it in their relationships. Four of the 18 participants cited this reason as to why [modified] traditional arrangements still persists among Nigerian families.

The following comments by a 47 – year old, female interviewee (f9) illustrate this point:

...Marital relationship in our culture recognises ‘natural aptitude, for example, every Nigerian wife knows that her most important responsibility in a marriage is bearing children, it comes before anything else; likewise, every Nigerian husbands knows that his main responsibility is looking after his wife and children even though that his wife can look after herself and the children...

In a similar vain, two informants talked about physical demand of some aspect of

Nigerians ways of life particularly preparation of Nigerian dishes:

The physical demand of certain family tasks makes such tasks the husband’s responsibility and no amount of political correctness will change it. Tasks like house repairs or fixing and lifting heavy object in the house will never be repositioned. Similarly, preparation of Nigerian main dishes demands certain level of care and attention to details, and women tend to possess these qualities more than men...do
(41-year old, male interviewee, m12)

7.1.2 Utilitarianism and Practicality

When the informants were asked other than their socialisation as a child, what other factor in their views contributed to the models? Twelve informants mentioned the usefulness of the complimentary model even though, that it is riddled with flaws. It is note worthy to add that some of the informants pointed out that this reason cannot be generalised to all Nigerian families.

A 30-year-old father of two children, a quantity surveyor said:

...I would say mostly that in my view, the attraction of traditional arrangement despite it weaknesses is that it suits our life styles and it offers a better balance than the alternative arrangements...

A 36-year- old female interviewee (f7) describe the practicality of traditional structure this way:

Our most priority is to give our children best possible up-bringing...and to do that we need a [structure] that is workable, even when they structure is not perfect ...from the point of view of 'gender-equality' and stuff like that...

By far, the most frequent justification cited was the 'meeting of the family primary need' (i.e. their children happiness), which they believed that traditional pattern, helped them to achieve:

...in my family we practice the traditional pattern of dividing family work because it is working foe us...my wife is happy, I am happy and children are happy, which to me is what really matters in all this...it is not perfect however, the good aspects of the arrangement far outweigh the negative consequence...

[34-year –old male interviewee, m13]

...the choice you make may not be suitable for every family...but what will count is that it meets you specific needs. So my answer to your question is that persistent of traditional pattern of dividing family work among Nigerian families here London is simply because it satisfies the family's needs and from the circumstantial point of view have lesser negative consequences for the Nigeria.....

[28-year-old female interviewee f17]

...it is a matter of striking a balance between adopting practices that has been proving to offer measurable benefits or adopting exotic practices that may be generally popular but carries greater negative consequences for the family unity...I an a fervent supporter of traditional family structure because it meets our family requirement...

[42-year-old male interviewee, m5]

Also mentioned repeatedly was the ‘stability’ they believe the [modified] traditional arrangement seems to offer Nigerian families here in London, bearing in mind the extra pressure their status as immigrants exert on the family life. For example, 29 years old, female interviewee (f6) said:

...traditional pattern might appear very rigid in principle but in practice, it is very flexible and more importantly, it fosters a spirit of stability among Nigerian...

Gender role ‘equality’, was not cited by most of the informants despite my constant reference to the issue. Only one informant, a 35-year –old male interviewee (m4) said that:

...I do not think that it is that simplistic to generalise that traditional structure was constructed with the aim of satisfying wives needs. after all when this structure was established, wives did not contribute...it was imposed on them...I believe that it persisted among Nigerians because it suits our patriarchal family pattern...no need to say that if you are a Nigerian girl wanting to marry a follow Nigerian you have no choice to but to conform...

7.1.3 Interactions with Nigerian community networks

Although the informants connected utilitarianism and the popularity of traditional patterns, they had a much broader idea of other factors, which they believe contributed in part, to acceptance of the traditional arrangements among the Nigerians couples.

They cited their close interaction with the Nigerian community here in London and back in Nigeria as a major influencing agent on how Nigerians viewed division of family work. For example, a 40-year-old, male interviewee (m1) describes how he thinks that membership of Nigerian community association contributes in shaping Nigerian behaviour to division of family work:

...I do not want to exaggerate Nigerian community association's role in shaping the internal arrangements of Nigerian families in London. It is clear that these communities put extra pressure on Nigerian to maintain practices that [we] inherited from our parents. For instance, it will be absurd for Nigerian husband to suggest that he cannot attend a major meeting because it is his turn to look after the children. Or for a wife to attend a Nigerian event alone because it is the husbands turn to stay home...only in extreme cases...even those cases couple often tell lies to avoid facing the accusation of either wife becoming deviant or husbands becoming weak..

Interestingly, some informants' suggested that not belonging to a Nigeria community association actually encourages extreme western types of gendered family pattern, which they view as very repressive. For these few informants they viewed Nigerian community association as a strong body that influences Nigerians to conform:

I have observed that Nigerians who are not members of Nigerian associations are avoiding their responsibility...they are adopting the practices that is prevalent among the West Indians...men running away from their duties and wife also neglecting their duties towards their children...

(28-year-old female interviewee (f15))

Majority of informants admitted that being a member of Nigerian community association compelled them to adopt less extreme traditional arrangements in their families, when I pressed them for more explanation; these informants revealed that fear of being ridiculed or being accused of selling out encouraged them to adopt pattern:

My wife takes care of our children most of the time including taking them to Sunday schools, and many children gatherings. Often I wanted to take over that role so that she can have more rest because she works very hard...but she will not let me...because she is worried about what other women from our community association will say or how it will be interpreted back in Nigeria...okay I do help...but just help...

[45-years-old male interviewee, m13]

My husband is a better cook, he can prepare wonderful meal...but I never let him cook, especially when our other family members are around ...because it will not go down well within the community. It will be interpreted differently...some we see him as being weak; others will look at me as loose cannon....

[33 – years-old female interviewee, f3]

In analyzing the informant's comments about the role of Nigerian community association, I identified the following three factors, which in my view explain 'why' it is viewed as a major influence: (a) social pressure to conform, (b) their commitment to maintain their 'Nigerian-ness'. Thus, whereas these informants' recognised the value of establishing a structure that they are comfortable with, which might not strictly conform to the traditional structure, the pressure of the community association confounded that other option. As some of the comments above indicated, a couple's choices had to fit around the traditional ethos that is acceptable to the wider Nigerian community.

For some informant's, then, belonging to Nigerian community associations amounts to surrendering the options of adopting different division of family work models.

On the other hand, the voluntary nature of membership afforded these informants' the opportunities to opt out and engage in a preferable pattern to them. Two informants' however, pointed out that membership of Nigerian association is not as influential as people are making out concerning their division of family work preferences. Whereas, it may have contributed to the persistence of the traditional patterns, it will be wrong to assert that it has an overwhelming influence.

In any case, close interaction with Nigerian community associations have a major influence over the nature of management structure that these couples' adopted.

7.1.3 Influence of Nigerian churches

...I do not want to bore you with biblical quotes. Nevertheless, to a Christian, the role of couple's in marital relations was clearly stated in the book of Ephesus chapter three. In addition, if you look at the first Peter, chapter 3 verses 1-7, you will read further God's instruction to wives and husbands. When you compare the traditional structure of managing family with the God's instructions, you will observe some similarities...so in other words the traditional pattern actually follows biblical instructions.

[33-years-old male interviewee, m15]

Hunt (2001) described in his book how much religion means to Nigerians. He suggested that all aspects of a Nigerian life are permeated by religion; they interpret every episode in their life through the prism of the bible. If one defines the division of family work within the Nigerian community without addressing the impact of God's teachings, then the study are missing a vital component of the jigsaw. First, when I asked the informants' about the role of the bible in their preferences, many informants' identified biblical quotes, which back up the [modified] traditional arrangements. They expressed little doubt about the biblical instruction:

...when God created first man and woman, he laid down the rule for them to follow in order to achieve lasting happiness. When God ordered Noah to build ship, he gave him instructions including the roles that each gender in his household should perform. The instructions carefully structured to enable Noah to accomplish God's plan for humankind....the structuring of family work in Nigerian families mimic God's instruction to humanity....

[30-year-old female interviewee, f11]

Traditional family structure encompasses all biblical instruction to husband and wives...so if you want to do something else as a Christian you are moving away from how God wants you and your family to function...

[55-years-old male interviewee, m16]

Interestingly, only one informant openly objected to the link between biblical interpretation and the traditional pattern of dividing family work. Most of the informants seemed to be consciously attempting to point out that deviating from biblical teaching will some how lead to disaster like divorce or other serious consequences.

As a 48-years-old male interviewee (m2) commented:

...I am surprised that some of [you] like to questions God's word...the role of couples is clearly stated by God, anybody who behaves differently will eventually face the wrath of God ...

As a Christian, you are obliged to follow biblical instruction...if in this case it coincided with the tradition, prescription so be it...

[57-years-old female interviewee, f3]

These comments suggest that informants' do articulate a strong influence of religion in the shaping of division of family work. Reference to biblical teaching it seems gave legitimacy to a gendered division of family work. Because to these informants, the word of God absolute, as 'real' and 'alive' as they never considered that bible was written in a different epoch in different social-economic environment.

If, however, one accepts Nigerian's disavowal of the kind of power God holds in their life, then one must accept too, the implications of this in their choice of division of family work in their families. As the informants' themselves noted, it is not for a Christian to disobey God, that it is for a Christian to follow God instructions. In seeking to avoid earning internal punishment from God, they subscribed to structure that will earn them everlasting audience and peace with God.

7.2 Meaning and emotion towards family management framework

This section will show how the 'meaning' associated with division of family patterns may have contributed to the prevalence of the pattern observed in chapter six. The 'meanings' and 'emotion' that informants attached to division of family work can have a strong influence on the choices they may make. Where the husbands' and wives associates their responsibility with negative emotion they may show disagreement to the arrangement that is in place; whereas, positive emotion to their responsibilities will likely encourage them to accept the prevailing arrangements this propositions seem to support Thomson's (1991) "distributive justice theory".

According to the theory, researchers need to consider; a) value outcomes other than time and tasks, b) between –and within-gender comparison referents, and c) gender-

specific justifications for small contribution either husband or wife make to the family work (Thompson, 1991, p.181).

Through questioning the informants about their personal assessment of what division of family work means to them (i.e. to their self-identity, importance of achieving equality between husbands etc) several interesting reasons were cited...

7.2.1 Self-identity

Invariably the extent to which husbands' or wives' feels that a family tasks is important to his or her sense of purpose the more likely it is that he or she would prefer to retain doing it even when it forces them to do double burden.. For example, wives back in Nigeria identify with domestic tasks as part of who they are or rather a meaningful way for them to show that, they care (Oakley, 1974; Ramu, 1987).

Likewise, husbands still see provider role as a means of self-expression and a high priority despite improvement in their wives economic positions. When I asked the informants what they think about their allocated responsibilities in their families, only few informants made negative comments about their roles. As the following comments reveals:

I do not consider the family work arrangement in my family to be faire...I still do so much despite the fact that we both work...

[40-years-old female interviewee, f3]

The majority of the informant's believe that the roles they are responsible for in their family are the main and ultimate roles for them:

...I see my role as a provider and protector of my family as a major aspect of my responsibility as a husband...a good husband should not duck away from this responsibility...

[48-year-old male interviewee, m5]

...my employment is very useful to me because it gives me the opportunity to express my independence plus the added benefit of financial security....however my ultimate role as a wife is to be a good mother and that involves taking my domestics responsibilities very serious...

[38-year-old female interviewee, f11]

I considered my role as a mother, wife and my responsibility for domestic task and these roles are very important...indeed more important than my outside employment...these roles are part of the components that identify who I am...
[41-year-old male interviewee, m16]

7.2.2 Rejection of equality ideal

Equity rules have been considered as a way to judge fairness (Scanzoni & Polonko, 1980). How the couple judged equality in their family will invariably have an effect on how they will perceive the management structure of family work in their respective families. For example, it is conceivable that a couple that believe in 'ideal' standard of a 50-50 split of family work will express negative emotion to a structure that failed to meet that standard.

When I asked the informants, to what extent do they considered dividing family work equally between husband and wife matters to them? Surprisingly, majority of the respondents' pointed out that equity in division of family work was unimportant. As 39-years-old female interviewee, (f13) commented:

.... dividing every aspect of family work equally is not possible in the first place...but even if it is possible, I do not see its relevance...it is not necessary if you asked me...

By far the most frequent responses see the idea of equality as theoretical suggestions that have no bearing to the reality of life:

...in principle, it is okay to speak of role equality...but we all know that in practice it is impossible to apply. In any case, it is not important to us...
[49-year-old male interviewee m2]

The combinations of comments given by the informants to the question of whether equality of roles is important or not indicate that equality of roles between husbands' and wives' is seen as not so important to them. The implication therefore is that 40/60

split or less that we observed is very acceptable. The examination of the informants' comments in the next section further supports this assertion...

7.2.3 Degree of fairness in the division of family work

Fairness defined here as wife has and husband perception of the degree of fairness in the division of family work in their family. Fairness has emerged as a salient variables used by many researchers in explaining the persistence of traditional division of family work. Perception of unfairness has been reported to correlate with negative emotion (see for example, Benin & Agnostinelli, 1988; Marshall, 1990; Ferree, 1990; Hochschild, 1989). Similarly, many studies (such as DeMaris and Longmore, 1996; Blair and Johnson, 1992; Blair, 1993) found that despite clear evidence that gender inequalities exist in the division of household labour between the two sexes, most men and women regards this division as fair.

I asked the informants whether they saw the division of family work in their families as unfair or fair. Surprisingly, only few informants viewed the management structure in their relationships as being unfair.

This 36-year-old male interviewee (m5) comment by saying:

...I still see division of family work in Nigeria family as lopsided...Nigerian wives still carry much more responsibility than their husbands do do...do

An informant that expressed unfairness of division of family work her family said:

...I cannot envisage a day there will be fairness in a Nigerian family with regards to division of responsibilities within and outside the homes...Nigerian wives are tied up with family matters and house chores disproportionatelyhusbands have more free time...

[32-year-old female interviewee, f4]

To the majority of the informant [twelve informants] who viewed the arrangements as being fair they are of the view that it is suitable to Nigerian culture and lifestyle:

...I cannot say that the structure is perfect...when compared with the alternative, I believe that it is better...I also believe that it most suits our family structures and lifestyle...

[55-year-old male interviewee, m11]

...I believe that the way responsibility is shared within the Nigerian families is fair...as long as the husband and wife are happy. In addition, if the quality of relationship within the family is maintained....

[33-years-old female interviewee, f2]

7.2.4 Sense of appreciation and responsiveness

Appreciation refers to the degree of grateful recognition and responsiveness refers to the husbands or wives readiness to pitch in and help. Blair and Johnson (1992) argued that the symbolic aspect of housework is of central importance to many husbands and wives by showing that the appreciation husbands have for their wife's household labour is a major predictor of perception of fairness vice-versa.

Most of the informants' saw appreciation of their contribution as very important to them:

It is not how you appeared in the eye of people outside that count...rather it is how your family perceived you that matters. For me as long as my husbands recognises and appreciates my contribution to our family [...which he does] I am happy to take on my responsibilities irrespective of how uncivilized it might appear to the none-Nigerian...

[43-yars-old female interviewee, f4]

Related to the importance of appreciation to the informants is the sense of responsiveness from their spouses – that is the husband and wife's readiness to pitch in and help when necessary. Most of the informants cited the importance of this dimension of traditional arrangement as crucial to its popularity among Nigerians. As these informants', comment reveal:

...the fact that my wife is always willing to help out whenever I am in financial difficulties show that traditional structure works for us better...if we adopt a structure that splits everything fifty-fifty she might refuse to help me....

[35-years-old male interviewee, m5]

...my husbands always helps with household tasks and child-care whenever there is need for example, if I am on late shift or too tired...something he might not be willing to do if I have insisted in the principle of dividing everything equally...
[39-years old female interviewee, f 5]

7.3. Discussions and Conclusions

In the field of family management framework, various theories/antecedents have been used to explain the prevalent of gender inequalities in the performance of family work between couples. Often these theories are framed holistically with very little direct input from the population investigated. This study used a different method – hermeneutic phenomenology and interpretive analysis in an attempt to enhance our understanding of the factors responsible for the salient of what I refer as ‘modernized traditionalism’ model of family management framework, we have included qualitative approaches (i.e. in-depth interviews and interpretive analysis) in our analytical framework. By using this approach, rather than arrogate determining factors as many research studies does, we hope to establish some ‘organic’ factors responsible for the respondents’ preferences.

Our result show that early socialization of the respondents, their belief in the utilitarian and practicality of the framework, sense of fairness and appreciation, and responsiveness of family members contributed in the salient of modernized traditionalism. In addition, the result show that social network such as membership of Nigerian community associations and religious doctrines with its teachings on family values which bear some similarity with traditional model of family management framework have some influences on the respondents preferences. The absence of interest for ‘gender equality’ in the division and performance of family work also helped to make the framework more acceptable.

Interestingly, the relative resources theory or the tendency to de-gender domestic work (Bernier et al., 1996), as more women participate in paid work often arrogated by researchers as part of factors that are responsible for changing or encouraging persistence of certain models of division of family work were scarcely cited by these informants'. Some of the reasons offered by the informants' such as the satisfaction they get from their family roles irrespective of the inequalities seem to support Majors (1987) theory in which he listed three factors that contributes to a sense of fairness namely: a) outcome value, b) comparison referents, and c) justification. According to Major, people feel that they are treated unfairly "if they lack some outcome they desire, have a high standard of comparison, and believe there is no acceptable justification of being deprived of their desired outcome.

For these informants showing recognition and appreciation of ones contribution to the family well-being are seen as more important than aiming for gender equality.

In the analysis of the "social construction of gender", Cunningham (2001) shows that early socialisation and intergenerational influences are important determinant of gendered division of housework; our finding supported this point. Family work is perceived to be more than the invisible and unpaid labour that makes waged work more attractive, it is seen as constituting a set of culturally and historically specific tasks that convey social meaning of masculinity and femininity (Berk, 1985). This implies that housework produces household goods and services by default gendered itself (Hartman, 1981; Fenstermaker et al., 1991; Cunningham, 2001b). Although, these studies concentrated on gendered division of housework rather than family work as a whole, the bases of their argument are supported by the informants' explanations as to 'why' they preferred complimentary models. Thus from this perspective, the symbolic as well as structural association of domestic tasks with wives and provider

role with husbands is not an issue for these informants', rather it is treated as a social fact that need to be taken on board when deciding how best to manage a family.

Our result show that most informants seem to prefer complimentary model because of what I called the utilitarian values it offered them under the present circumstances (such as the absence of extended family as result of their immigrant status). They seem to prefer an arrangement, which allowed them to fulfill their family need rather than seek for a model that is 'politically correct; 'reality' rather than 'ideals'.

Similarly, they believe that traditional model is more practical and work better with less friction than other alternative models (such as symmetrical model), which they accept looked very attractive in theory but impossible to apply in the real world.

Numerous studies stress that husbands and wives perception of 'fairness' in the division of family responsibility have important influence on marital stability and the risk of dissolution (Olah, 2001b, Greenstein, 1995; Greenstein, 1996; Sanchez and et al., 2000). It is interesting, that these informants' perceived traditional model as a more efficient model capable of safeguarding their marriages from the risk of dissolution and meeting the needs of their children.

An interesting finding in this analysis is the unexpectedly little gender differences in the informant's comments. Husbands were as likely to emphasize that their role is important to who they are as their wives. Further, in both the range and extent of social-cultural influences in their preferences, there was no significant variation between husbands and wives. Where variations existed i.e. promotion of equality, it manifested itself indirectly through individual informants making comparison with what symmetrical can potentially offer rather than differences between their contributions and their spouses.

Only in the meaning attached to family roles and work roles did gender make a noticeable difference. For example, most wives felt that paid work interfere or rather prevent them from adequately fulfilling their primary roles as spouse and caregiver, while husbands on the other hand felt less hindered by paid work because they believe that provider role is in any case their main role.

In sum, the analysis presented in this study has demonstrated the usefulness of including qualitative approach in an analytical framework measuring determinant factors responsible for the persistence of a particular model of dividing family work within a society or a sub-group. We have discovered that for these informants what matters to them was an arrangement that enables them to fulfill their family obligation first rather than model that gives them equal power in their relations. In addition, we have also uncovered the pitfalls of overgeneralization and often-unwarranted extrapolation of symmetrical arrangement as preferred model by all family types, in every culture etc.

Chapter Eight

Summary and Conclusions

8.1 Summary of study findings

The over arching aim of this research was to examine the salient family management framework among immigrant Nigerian dual-earner couples in the context of growing body of research on the dynamics in the managing of family work as a result of changing socio-economic demography.

This aim is achieved through: a) evaluation of existing literatures, b) development of a methodology more amenable to researching immigrant couples, c) examining of their ‘lived experiences’, d) analysing of their attitudes and behaviour to family work management, e) and exploring what influences the prevalent family work management models.

The research design drew on a synthesis of structured and open (qualitative) tools to glean more personalized and multi-faceted data in a sample of first generation married professional Nigerian dual-earner couples with pre-school children. As such, this study contributes to the literature by testing theories and research findings derived from mainly Western born families in couples that are born in a non-western country and culturally different. It also, for the first time shed some light on the ways immigrant Nigerian professional dual-earner couples adjust or fail to adjust to the challenge of managing their family in a new economic and social context.

First of all, these immigrant couples brought with them legacies of their socialisation and life experiences in the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRP), where most women were expected to be solely responsible for and performing of most domestic work even when they are economically active while, husbands were expected to be the

main breadwinner even when they are not economically active (Ogundipe-Leslie (1985). Here in Britain however, they are exposed to accelerated processes of modernization that differs from their earlier experiences (one adhering to egalitarian norms). Thus, research findings based on first generation immigrants are best understood through the prism of ecological perspective, which suggested that various social systems surrounding the individual impact on his or her attitudes and behaviour. For the most part, the findings support this theoretical approach, but also point to new direction of thinking. As the findings showed, four distinct areas appear to impact on the couple's perceptions of their new environment, which implicitly influences their attitudes and behaviours: experiences of immigration such as, sense of racism, overt discrimination, occupational downgrading etc, sending context i.e. their initial objectives for coming to United Kingdom.

Regarding the influence of immigration, majority of these couples were greatly affected by their daily life experiences and felt the constraints of the mainstream culture, government and employee attitudes towards them. The resultant consequences of these perceptions of their new environment is a sense of alienations which contributed to majority of the couples particularly, the husbands' describing themselves as 'trans-nationals' (i.e. settling down in the host country but keeps social and cultural ties with their country of origin), including those that have lived in Britain for over twenty five years. It was interesting to find that couples who have resided longest in Britain expressed this sentiment than newer settlers.

This finding suggest that whereby immigrants having negative perceptions of their new environment based on their daily experiences through social interactions with the mainstream and influential others like government and employees that they are most likely to embrace 'transmission behaviour' i.e. behaviour that reflects their

culture of origin. This findings in principle supports Brofenbrenner (1996) and Hawley's (1986) ecological theories; these couples 'lived experiences' appeared to impact on the way they perceived themselves within their new social settings. The sense of not wholly accepted by the mainstreams and other influential others appears to have encouraged them to identify themselves more than otherwise with the culture of their country of origin. The implication for understanding the prevailing frameworks for managing family work among this population is twofold : 1) it implicitly helped put into context the prevailing management model within these families, 2) it highlights the need for understanding how immigrants particularly, first generation perceived themselves in their new environment..

Until recently, immigrant Nigerian professional dual-earner couples have been largely ignored in the family management debate and research in the United Kingdom. The emerging diverse trends of 'egalitarian internal organisation' of family work models have been widely debated regarding mainstream white, middle-class families. This study finding showed that the existing 'universal' conclusions do not adequately capture the attitudes and behaviours of family management framework within the immigrant Nigerian professional dual-earner couples. Although, many of the professional couples in this study exhibit contemporary views that reflects the trends of modern family management framework, the husbands in particular appears to express greater transformation in their attitudes. However, the egalitarian attitudes expressed by the couples do not seem to reflect a basic change in their gender role behaviours. The couple's behaviour does not characterised liberal behaviour as portrayed in the study findings on western mainstream families. Instead, they run very much like the traditional family management framework that is prevalent in Nigeria. Indeed a closer look at the data indicate that among the couples, these new earnings

patterns and dynamics in socio-economic demography are not characterised by a more equal performance of family work than the traditional pattern as far as domestic tasks are concern. In order words, although the couples expressed attitudes that reflect the ideals in view of their present circumstances, their behaviours seem to keep with the traditional values of gendered division and performance of family tasks. This finding is inconsistent with reported findings in mainstream families i.e. that husband' tends to take a greater part in running the domestic tasks in their household when their wives earn more or about the same as their husbands (Bayfield, 1995; Coltrane & Ishii-Kuntz, 1992; Shelton & John, 1993).

The pattern of family management framework found in this study seems entrenched more towards traditionalism than egalitarianism. Both husbands and wives expressed satisfaction with their currents arrangements. They view the management arrangements they adopted as most appropriate, workable in view of their circumstances, and sustainable.

These findings points to greater resilience of cultural institutions and the couple's ability to act upon their wisdom: When you are faced with difficult situation chose, what can meet your needs rather than what is popular. This finding resonates in many ways with the prior findings of family studies among immigrants in the western societies and societies expressing transition i.e. from traditional to modern gender role ideologies (Coltrane, 2000; Aycan, 2000).

8.2 Conclusions

The exploration of data on immigrant Nigerian professional dual-earner couple's family management framework in London has produced evidences that converged as well as differs with previous findings of other studies mainly among white, middle-class couples. The findings can be summarised as follows:

- 1) In a synchronic perspective, different types of family tasks regulations vary considerably, especially the dimension of domestic task performances between husband and wife. Whereas there were evidences of change, the changes seem relatively moderate; traditional internal regulation of family work particularly domestic tasks appears to be more dominant, than the egalitarian framework. The obvious departure from the traditional model is the wide spread employment of immigrant Nigerian wives.
- 2) Thus, according to our evidences, the husband breadwinner and the wife house-maker ideal has not disappeared among the professional Nigerian dual-earner couples. This conclusion is supported by the couple's responses to attitudinal measures and their descriptions of their reasons for the choices of family management framework they adopted. The evidences they provided showed that there is a desire by both couples to maintain "normalcy". Wives expressed interest about maintaining their husbands' "masculinities" and there is also a deeply embedded pride in feminine role in both husbands and wives responses: the care giving role in general and the mothering role in particular, are perceived as the most sanctified. This finding persuaded me to conclude that the widespread normative traditional family management framework we found appears to be influenced in part by the couples' beliefs and personal convictions.

3) The evidences also points to the considerable influences of cultural institution and by social-political environments. As immigrants the couples lack family social capital and to a large extent community capital (family social capital is defined here as lack or absence of extended family support; community social capital is the lack of wider community network). They also operate in an environment in which they perceived as being hostile to their belief and values thus, forcing them to identify more with the social practices in their country of origin rather than the dominant social practices of their host society. Because of the absence of family social capital, community social capital, and sense of alienation, it implies that individual couples have limited leeway to influence the sustainability of strict traditional gendered division of tasks. This might explain why we found evidences of increase in husbands' assistance with domestic tasks especially, shopping and child-care tasks, it is plausible that these assistances may not have come about because of their acceptance of the 'modern' norms of gender roles; rather it seems to come because of their circumstances as immigrant. As these immigrant wives are in full-time employment as their husbands', it is apparent that keeping up with the two demanding tasks of home-making and earnings will be impossible, hence the husbands' supports with domestic tasks. Similarly, their "trans-nationality" identifications may have motivated decisions against adopting family management framework that are generally considered rational (i.e. in line with the 'egalitarian' frameworks encouraged in the host country). It would have been interesting if our questionings are enlarged enough to explore directly the relationships between couples perceived 'status' in Britain and their attitudes and behaviours towards management of family work.

The findings as a collective makes us to conclude that the ‘modernized’ traditional family management framework which we found, instead of simple disappearance of the traditional model of family management framework expresses a resilience of cultural institutions. This resilience may be due to the cultural environment in which the immigrant couples lives and its ways of functioning. In this perspective, it would appear that choices of family management framework were in part influenced, considerably by exogenous social rhythms and structures; personal convictions; interpersonal negotiations of individual couples.

This gives some credibility to the ecology theory, gender performance theory (doing gender), and time constraint theory rather than to the resources theory or dependency theory.

8.3 Research contribution to Knowledge

With increase in interest on how families are responding to and absorbing external changes taking place in the world that impacts on family management structure. This thesis on the immigrant Nigerian migrant professional dual-earner families has contributed a vital tread in the overall family management research: Firstly, the general understanding of how immigrant Nigerian professional dual-earner families manage family work here in London has been advanced for the first time. Over the last three decades, several studies have been carried out with the effort to gain further understanding of changes in family management framework but most of these studies were focused mainly on the European and North American families. This study marked a departure from the norm; it is the first known empirical research on family management framework among the immigrant Nigerian professional families. Presently the most common approach to analyzing family management framework is

through the measurement of husbands and wives level of participation in domestic and child-care tasks. This thesis, made a decisive break with such tradition by including all the four component tasks that formed family work. The treatment of these components together shows that a modernized traditional family management framework is salient among this sub-group of immigrant Nigerian families.

The existing techniques used to analyzing family management have been shown to be theoretically inadequate for studying immigrant families. A methodology and methods more suited in studying immigrants was developed, which is both theoretically rigorous and practical in its implementation. In contrast to existing approaches used in the study of family work, this method is underpinned by an explicit need to get a more accurate reality of the immigrant lived experiences in a multi-cultural society. This thesis has developed an alternative methodology, which does not depend entirely on methodology conceptualized for the analysis of the mainstream families.

Perhaps the most important contributions to knowledge made by this thesis lies in the connections which have been made between the immigrant's relative pattern of participation in family tasks and the reasons for adopting such pattern. There is no previous piece of work, which has specifically linked salient pattern of participation in family work among immigrant families and the mitigating factors. Another important contribution to knowledge by this thesis is the connections, which have been made between different subject areas. It is not a common practice in social psychology of families to link historical antecedents and contemporary lived experiences of immigrants within a piece of research. This contribution has been unique.

In addition, as a pioneering piece of study, this thesis, has laid foundation on which future studies on Nigerian professional immigrant dual earner families living in United Kingdom or elsewhere will be measured

8.4 Research limitations

To put the summing up of the research findings into context, it is necessary to highlight practical limitations in the study.

Although, this research has offered some methodological lessens i.e. interviewing couples (instead of married women and men in general) that has certainly ensured greater homogeneity of respondents', social backgrounds, and 'lived experiences' and hence eliminated many confounders and captured actual gender differences in a more refined way. the absence of tangible variances between the reported attitudes and behaviours by wives and husbands may point to some 'overmatching' in the study population. Immigration is a difficult trail for many Nigerian professional couples that often lead to marital dissolutions. The couples who stayed together after over ten years or more years in Britain might be more harmonious, supportive, and well matched psychologically than those who had parted ways by the time of the study. This similarity in outlooks and lifestyles may have manifested in the similarities in their responses.

In addition, the limitation of the study includes sample characteristics. The sample comprises mainly professional couples in full-time employment. Although this sample represents the Nigerian migrant white-collar professional living and working in London, it does not represent the population of the general population of Nigerian migrants in Britain. The couples attitudes to division of family work showed convergence with those other studies reported in the mainstream couples; this may be because our sample comprised well-educated, professional husband and wife. The

influence of ‘sending context’, culture and ‘lived experience’ could be observed better with sample from less educated, lower income Nigerian immigrant couples.

The study sample size and the selectivity of the sample necessitate caution when culture on family management framework that could be the product of self-selection bias, since participations in the research was voluntary. The study was also limited by the fact that majority of these couples were first generation Nigerian migrants, thus making it difficult for this study findings to be generalised to second generation Nigerian population.

Finally, the introduction of a typology of family-life configurations or phases i.e. couples with dependent children of schools age has added a substantial insights to the study findings; however, the consequences for the study also should be pointed out. The study findings cannot be generalised to other Nigerian professional dual-earner couples with children of over school age, those with children who have left home, and pensioners.

8.4.1 Other limitations inherent in the study of family management framework

Many of the limitations inherent in researching family management framework have already been acknowledged in the course of the preceding discussions

Notwithstanding the above, it is still necessary to recognise that the concept of family management is susceptible to a number of different types of criticism. First, it is necessary to recognise that there are many potential criticisms, which can be directed at the guiding assumptions. The second category of potential criticisms is less fundamental in nature, and relates to the particular techniques of cross-sectional methods. It is convenient to consider each of these categories of criticism in turn:

The study of family management framework is especially susceptible to criticism as the researcher, the researched, and wider public are an integral part of a ‘family’ and

as such have their views. It is also open to criticism because of the gendered nature of our society. Indeed, the same criticism is equally valid for all research which falls within the family paradigm. An advocate of radical paradigm would point out that the framing of family management framework discourse was riddled with 'masculinity renditions' aimed at presenting husbands as victims of 21st century lifestyle. In other words, the analysis of family management framework would be seen as inevitably to serve the interests of the existing power holders within the families. Thus, interpreting the research nuances as an attempt to reverse the little advantage gained by the 'oppressed majority'. Criticism of this nature is especially topical within the context of current social-discourses. For example, if the research had followed the tradition and concentrated only on analysing the patterns of participation in domestic and child-care tasks between the husbands and wife, it is unlikely that the advocate of radical paradigm would have considered the research politically motivated.

From the liberal perspective, the family management framework is susceptible to the criticism of systematic bias towards the traditional powerful majority by pointing at the elaborate review of literatures and empirical research on domestic and child-care tasks. In other words, assuming that systematic biases are introduced into the study design because these two areas of family work are most likely to show that wives are performing more paid and unpaid work than their husbands are. In addition, the criticism that the researcher was influenced by a rather powerful argument from the advocate of radical paradigm is also a possibility.

Whilst these criticisms may bear some validity, every effort was made by the researcher to counter-balance the effects by adopting research strategy that seek to construct a lived reality, as well as recognizing the need to address biases prevalent in the classical methodologies. The ontological position of social constructivism does

not deny the existence of political interest, and positivist paradigm severely underplays its existence. Whilst the strategy adopted may go some way towards providing a counter-balance, it is difficult to counter the possibility of these criticisms entirely. The family management framework approach should therefore be seen as a study aimed at presenting balance picture of the state of family work management rather than pure gender analysis (i.e. a systematic gathering and examination of information on gender differences and social relations in order to identify; understand and redress inequities based on gender).

8.5 Recommendation for further research

As noted earlier, immigrant couples in this research still have unequal distribution of family work responsibilities and performance, although there is evidence that husbands are increasing their domestic tasks efforts and wives increasing their financial contributions to the family budget. More research of “unequal marriages” (i.e. those where partners are socially unequal, for example, wives have a career and husbands not and vice versa). We would expect husbands in these arrangements to be pre-disposed to being more open-minded and more willing to adopt egalitarianism. I recommend that future researchers develop greater depth in understanding immigrant Nigerian family’s family work management framework by examining the influence of “expressive” culture. Culture in my opinion, is a collective action which responds to change in the environment, in order words, it has an in built dynamism. To be sure, culture alone does not provide all the essential components required for understanding change in belief or as an explanation to every human action. However, when viewed as a powerful influencing agent, culture is relevant enough to be given serious attention in any research involving first generation immigrants.

Future research will also benefit from exploring immigrant Nigerian who expresses less “trans-national” characteristics (i.e. those immigrant couples who identify more with the British culture and see their stay in Britain as permanent). In such design, trans-national or non-trans-national characteristics underpinnings could be tested as a main effect and as a moderator of internal organisation of family work.

The inclusion in the future study of immigrant Nigerian families of more diverse characteristics such as, single parents, retired, and those with children over school age would broaden our understanding of the patterns of family management frame work within the immigrant Nigerian families in Britain.

Future research using larger sample that is more diverse in socioeconomic status and “sending context” (i.e. reasons for coming to Britain in the first place) is suggested for several reasons. It should be noted that the frameworks observed in this study may be unique to the sample due to their “sending context”, history, and current socioeconomic status. Because migrant Nigerian families’ perception of their family roles are likely to vary greatly according to their current and previous socioeconomic statuses as well as their acculturation in Britain (or lack thereof), it is important to extend this study with the inclusion of more diverse socioeconomic groups with differing histories and sending contexts.

8.6 Difficulties encountered in studying immigrant Nigerian families in London

In conducting this research, I encountered several difficulties. Hence, I felt that it is important that these difficulties be highlighted for the benefit of those contemplating conducting empirical research on immigrant African families and Nigerians in particular. It is not my intention to attempt an exhaustive discussion of all the possible difficulties in conducting empirical research on Nigerian immigrants living in

London, but rather to outline difficulties based on my experiences that can cut across topics in the study of Nigerian or African immigrants living in United Kingdom.

There is a scarcity of empirical studies specifically on Nigerian immigrant families living in London, as I uncovered during the literature review stage of my research. Thus, from the onset there was difficulty in amassing information from past studies that would have been of help for conceptualization. The few available literatures that I came across were on race-comparative studies. These ethnic comparative studies (Berthoud, 2001, Mooded, 2002), are rarely guided by any explicit theoretical or conceptual rationale which can provide meaningful ideas for development of concepts that are free from biases. This is because these studies are either exploratory or are designed to document the existing differences for example, in employment or income among ethnic minority groups or between ethnic minority groups and the mainstream group. Secondly, the data sources are not reliable. Conceptual frameworks developed for thinking about mainstream families (e.g. Pahl, 1998) under-guide other study that goes beyond comparative thresholds. The concept and values at the centre of these frameworks are as I found out incompatible with the belief and experiences of Nigerian immigrant families. Pointing out conceptual problems with conducting research on ethnic minorities in America Ramirez, (1998) and Kambon, (1996), had argued that “there is an irreconcilable difference between cultural world view” of immigrants and the mainstream society. Kambon, contended that “it has also been convincingly argued by African social scientist that not only are African and Europeans worldview distinct in nature, but that they are oppositional as well (Kambon, 1996, p. 8).

In view of the discussions so far, the initial stage in this research project, which was development of a conceptual model that recognise unique culture and history of these

immigrants, was very difficult. In addition, the importance of developing relevant models makes it impossible to overlook this crucial point; because it shapes the type of questions that I will examine, the variables to include in the research; the research design, and ultimately how the result will be interpreted.

The next difficulty was how to avoid the temptation of a 'universal' assumption that is often embedded in most research methodologies such as, failure to control for fundamental variants like socio-economic differences; consideration of cultural perspectives, and social class. Because of readily availability of research instruments and established methodologies developed with the mainstream population in mind, researchers are easily tempted to applied these instruments and methods in the study of ethnic minorities. The danger in using these methodologies in research design and data analysis in the study of ethnic minorities is that it often led to conclusions that failed to capture the true experiences of immigrants. Thus, to achieve the objective of this research, I was confronted with the problem of developing a methodological strategy that will take into account the fundamental cultural identity of the respondents.

The most daunting task was to stimulate the gatekeepers [supervisors and director of research] views to recognise that variations in immigrant's socio- cultural and environmental constraint can result in difference in attitude and behaviours from the mainstream, therefore, that there is the need for incorporating these fundamental characteristics in the study. Considering that, what I proposed was a departure from the normative practices; and that they themselves are implicitly guilty of some of the flaws that I raised. It was initially very problematic, as a matter of fact I was compelled to explain and defend every step that I proposed, starting from the

conceptual model; methodological modifications in research design; sampling strategy; to measures, and data analysis. I was compelled to:

- (1) Get them to recognise the need for non – comparative studies at this stage.
- (2) The need to adopt methodology that take account of the cultural and experiences of the immigrants
- (3) Getting them to accept the importance of social construction of meanings by the immigrant rather imposing meaning on the participants.
- (4) Getting them to accept alternative approach rather than adopting the ‘universalistic’ approach.

It is important to stress at this point, that the [gate keepers] were not being obstructive or unhelpful instead, they were seeking clarifications partly because their trainings does not properly prepare them for such a new research paradigms and also because research on ethnic minorities in an urban western society setting is still in its infancy. Thus, getting them to unlearn old attitudes, perceptions, and values and embrace new paradigms was difficult.

Finally, these outlined difficulties should not act as a deterrent for those interested in embarking on empirical research on immigrant population instead; it should be seen as an incentive.

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Appendix A

A.1. Basic facts on Nigeria¹

With an estimated number of 140 million inhabitants, Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa. It became a British protectorate in 1891 (although initially this mainly comprised the coastal areas), and became independent in 1960. Nigeria has more than 250 different ethnic and linguistic groups, with the major divide running between the predominantly Muslim north and the predominantly Christian south. The largest ethnic groups are the Hausa-Fulani (north), Yoruba (southwest) and Ibo (southeast). Nigerian is a federal republic, with the 36 states enjoying considerable political and juridical autonomy. Lagos is the country's economic capital and with an estimated population of between 10 to 15.5 million people Africa's second largest city. Centrally located Abuja was proclaimed as the nation's capital in 1976, located in the federal capital territory state, although the actual move from Lagos to Abuja took place in 1991. Other major cities are Kano in the north, Ibadan in the southwest and Port Harcourt in the southeast, a major site of oil refineries. From 1966 until 1999, Nigeria has been ruled by several military dictators except for a short period of civilian administration between 1979 and 1983. Besides the several coups, the country's history has been characterised by a series of minor and major violent inter-ethnic conflicts, the bloodiest of which was the Nigerian Civil War (1967–1970) between Nigeria and the breakaway republic of Biafra. Democracy was formally restored in 1999, when current president Olusegun Obasanjo was elected. Nigeria is an influential

¹ Basic facts on Nigeria and trends in international migration are adapted from report prepared for Radboud University, Nijmegen and Directorate General for International Cooperation (DGIS), Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Netherlands; by Hein de Haas (2006)

member of the African Union and the Commonwealth of Nations. It is also member and hosts the secretariat of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which was founded in 1975.

Despite the country's oil wealth, many Nigerians suffer from extreme poverty. Between 1980 and 2000, per capita income fell. In 2004, GNI per capita stood at 400 US\$, lower than the 510 US\$ average for all low-income countries. In the same year, life expectancy at birth was 45 years against a 58 years average for low-income countries. Approximately 90 million Nigerians are believed to live in absolute poverty, on less than one dollar a day.

A.2. Trends in international migration

In the colonial era, parallel to rural-to-urban migration, migration to and from other African countries, Nigerians have migrated to the UK, principally to follow higher education. A significant proportion of them would stay. After independence in 1960 this largely highly skilled migration to the UK continued, although an increasing proportion of Nigerians migrated to the US for study, business and work. The 1973 oil crisis and skyrocketing oil prices caused a tremendous 350 percent increase in oil revenues. The associated economic boom made Nigeria into a major migration destination within Africa. Rising incomes of the urban middle class and rapid industrialisation attracted substantial number of West African labour migrants.

However, the post 1981 decrease in oil prices would herald a long period of economic downturn alongside with sustained political repression and violence.

In 1983 and 1985, Nigeria expelled large number of west-African migrants including, about one million Ghanaians (Arthur 1991: 74).

It has therefore been observed that Nigeria has witnessed a 'reverse migration transition, transforming itself from a net immigration to a net emigration country (Black *et al.* 2004:11). Nigerians have increasingly immigrated to countries such as Ghana, Cameroon, and particularly the wealthy economies of Gabon, Botswana and South Africa (cf. Adepaju 2000). Since 1994, South Africa has developed as a major destination for migrants from various African countries, among which numerous Nigerians. In particular, the skilled have found the booming economy of South Africa to be convenient alternatives to Europe, the US and the Gulf States (Adepaju 2004). Whereas this migration of students, professionals and entrepreneurs to Anglo-Saxon countries has continued, there has been a diversification of Europe-bound migration following the economic decline and increasing political tensions in the 1980s. An increasing number of Nigerians have migrated to countries such as Germany, France, the Netherlands, Belgium as well as the Gulf states. In the 1990s, Spain, Italy and Ireland have emerged as new major destinations of labour migrants from West Africa and Nigeria (cf. Black *et al.* 2004:9). There has also been an increasing tendency for Nigerian migrants towards permanent settlement. Increasing restrictions and controls on immigration in Europe have not led to a decrease in Nigerian emigration. Rather, migrants are more often un-documented and the itineraries tend to be longer and more perilous. This has made Nigerian migrants more vulnerable to exploitation and marginalisation.

There is circumstantial evidence that these more recent migrants to continental European countries are less skilled on average, and that they more often work in the (formal and, particularly in southern Europe, informal) service, trade and agricultural sectors of the economy. The UK and, in particular, the US (through student and professional migration as well as the Green Card lottery) generally continue to attract the relatively higher skilled workers (cf. Hernandez-Coss *et al.* 2006). The need to expand the UK National Health Service has for instance created opportunities which poorly paid and unmotivated professional health workers find irresistible. UK Universities have also embarked upon a recruitment drive of Nigerian students. In Nigeria, countless immigration 'consultants' promise prospective migrants visa and job opportunities. Also the Gulf states primarily attract the relatively highly skilled at least until recently.

Education has always been an important cause of Nigerian emigration. Some Nigerians migrate with their children to pursue studies in the US or the UK, to escape the dismal state of the Nigerian educational system. Labour migration from Nigeria has also become increasingly feminine. For instance, an increasing number of female nurses and doctors have been recruited from Nigeria to work in Saudi Arabia(Adepoju 2000:386).

A significant number of Nigerians apply for refugee status in European countries. In 2004, Nigerians were the fifth largest group of asylum seekers in Europe (Carling 2005). They tend to state ethnic and religious conflict as their reason for asylum. The cases are often denied because it is felt that there are many other states within Nigeria and West Africa for Nigerians to move to if they are faced with persecution at home.

Because of its size and its current *relative* stability, Nigerians have less chance of obtaining asylum status than citizens from other, conflict-ridden ECOWAS countries.

The issue of trafficking of female Nigerian sex workers to Italy and other European countries has received substantial attention. However, it seems to be important to take into account the complexity of the issue as well as the blurred distinction between forced and voluntary migration. It is also important to make a distinction between trafficking and smuggling.

Most recruiting of future prostitutes takes place in the southern Edo state. The most important destination is Italy, where it is said that as much as 10,000 Nigerian prostitutes would be living. Secondary destinations are the Netherlands, Spain and a range of other countries (Carling 2005)². When Nigerians began migrating to Italy in the 1980s as a response to its high demand for low-skilled labour in agriculture and services, these women were only one of many groups that migrated. The first prostitutes tended to work independently. In the early 1990, immigration restrictions made prospective emigrants increasingly dependent on large loans in order to pay their journey. This provided an opportunity for traffickers, who enticed young women to migrate with promises of good jobs, and subsequently coerced them into prostitution to repay their migration debt (Carling 2005).

The initial contact with the traffickers is often made through a relative, friend, or other familiar person, who puts her in contact with a *madam* who organises and finances the journey. The costs may range from US\$40,000 to US\$100,000. The migrants and the *madam* conclude a 'pact', which is

religiously sealed by a traditional priest, which obliges repayment in exchange for a safe passage to Europe (Carling 2005).

In Europe, the women are under the control of a Nigerian madam, a counterpart of the Nigerian *madam*. Most women know that they are going to work as prostitutes, but not necessarily the arduous conditions under which (street) prostitutes have to work as well as the size of the debt. However, this work does offer some 'career' perspective.

After repaying their debt in one to three years, women are basically free, and it is fairly common for them to become a supervisor of other prostitutes and, eventually, a *madam* themselves. Carling (2005) stressed that this prospect of upward mobility is a strong incentive to comply with the pact, and that this strong element of reciprocity between traffickers and the victims make it difficult to reduce this form of trafficking.

Whereas labour migration and trafficking to Europe used to predominantly use air links, visa requirements and increasing immigration controls at air and seaports, seem to have led to an increasing reliance on trans-Saharan, overland routes to the Maghreb countries, and in particular Morocco, from where Nigerians and other sub-Saharan Africans attempt to cross the Mediterranean sea to southern Europe or the Atlantic ocean to the Canary Islands (de Haas 2006b).

According to a recent study, traffickers especially in Kano state successfully exploited the annual pilgrimage to Mecca to traffic children, men and women for different 2 According to some interviewees, international destinations of Nigerian sex workers would include Gabon, Burkina Faso, Togo, Saudi

Arabia, Italy, Spain, Cameroon, Ghana, Guinea, Morocco, Niger, Mali, Libya, UK, the Netherlands, Belgium, Benin and South Africa.⁶

exploitative purposes e.g. prostitution, begging and all forms of domestic work (cf.

Ehindero *et al.* 2006.

A.3 Nigerian family and lineage¹

There has never been a stable human society, in which, the institution of family does not exist or is viewed as very important. Thus, Nigeria is not unique in considering the family as an important institution. The strong institutionalization of the family in traditional Nigeria would seem to have made familism even more central in that society. It is not possible to do justice to the complexity and diversity of the institution on a simple appendix, but this attempt at least provides a few coordinating principles and defines a few terms.

Because this report is devoted to the traditional Nigerian family system, I have tended to use the past tense. Many of the institutions, beliefs, and values discussed here are still present in Nigeria; however, I have chosen to focus on the past to stress traditionalism and to avoid dealing with the complexities of the effects on the system of modern growth of commercialization, urban population, and foreign influences, especially foreign influences on marital laws.

I will limit my discussion to the followings: (a) Definition of family, (b) The meaning of lineage, (c) people not classified as members of a family, (d) Marriage, (e) sexuality

A.2 Definition of Family

The traditional Nigeria family was a patrilineal, patriarchal, prescriptive virilocal kinship group sharing a common household budget and normatively extended in form. It is not the same thing as descent line, lineage, or clan.

I will attempt to explain these terms that makes up the definitions.

A.2.1 Patrilineal

The terms patrilineal means that descent was calculated through the men. In order words, a person was biologically descended from both mother and father, but one inherited one's family membership from one's father. Nigeria was extreme in that a woman was quite explicitly removed from family of birth and affiliated to her husband's family. The transitions are clearly symbolized in local marriage customs, which varies from one tribe to another.

A.2.2 Patriarchal

The term means that the family is hierarchically organized, with the prime institutionalized authority being in the senior-most male.

No two members of a Nigerian family were equal in authority. Customarily, senior generations were superior to junior generations, older people were superior to younger ones, and men were superior to women. Normatively (that is, in what most people thought of as the ideal form), a man who was older and/or more senior generation than anybody else would head a family. In

actual practice, there is no known family system in which members does not contribute to the collective welfare and decision making, with their differential knowledge, perspectives, and skills. The Nigerian patriarchal system is no different. Patriarchy is a “jural norm”, but is differentially salient in different families and tribes. For sure, personality has much to do with how the members of a family actually behave. In Nigeria there were always families dominated by women, old people whose lives were run by their children, and so on, just as elsewhere.

Family hierarchy was emphatically symbolized in the concept of “filial piety”, or more accurately rendered “filial subordination”. When there is clash of opinion, it was expected (customarily enforced) that the opinion of a family superior should prevail over the opinion of a family inferior. Customary law held a child insubordination to a parent to be a family wider disgrace, and a daughter-in-law’s insubordination to her parents-in-law grounds for divorce. Sacrifices in the support of one’s parents are the commonest and most important genre of Nigerian moral tales.

A.2.3 Prescriptively Virilocality

The term means that it is expectations that a newly married couple should live with the groom’s family.

It was considered ideal for all men in a family to marry and bring their wives to live on the family estate, and for all women born to a family to marry and go out to live with their husbands. The change of families was of course a defining event in the life of a woman, and the traditional, even prescriptive, sentiment was great sorrow at leaving her girlhood home, only sometimes mitigated by some sense of adventure or excitement about assuming her new

status as married women. In some parts of Eastern Nigeria there is a tradition of women's musical lamentations on this theme, and days leading up to marriage may be celebrated with carefully structured sessions of activities that are often mixed with happiness and sobbing often involving the bride-to-be and her unmarried friends or younger sisters. For the husbands is an event of pride and anticipation. There are few accounts of marriages in which the grooms went to live with the wife's family. (This practice is called uxori-locality.) Where such practices existed, it was mainly a matter of economic convenience. Sometimes, it was because the wife's family had no son, and the son-in-law was accepted in lieu of a son, sometimes changing his name (which was an act of disgraceful unfiliality towards his own parents, if living). The most common practice was allowing the couple to have a child before they perform the customary marriage ceremony so that the child born (that is seen as out of marriage) would take the name of the wife's father. Because uxori-locality broke the customary prescription of virilocality, it was considered a last resort, and uxori-local husbands were viewed with suspicion and scorn. An uxori-local marriage was disparaged as "absurd", and a man who married uxori-local was referred to as a "superfluous husband" and attracts public ridicule.

A.2.4 Kinship Group

The "kinship" part of this means that members of the family were related genealogically, i.e. either by having common ancestors or by being married. The "group" part means that they had known boundaries and shared activities or resources with each other that they did not share with outsiders.

A Family is not a household. A household included whoever lived in the same building, which might mean tenants, servants, apprentices, sometimes a resident priest, or whoever. Although a household is useful census unit, and can be used as a proxy for families if one has data on households and not on families, it is not the same thing. Just as a household can incorporate people who are not part of the family, the family can incorporate people who are not part of the household. Many Nigerian throughout history have lived for longer or shorter period away from the families. Shorter separations might involve moving to another part of the region as seasonal worker. Longer separation might occur if a member went away to serve in the tribal army or to study or to set up a business in another location.

This close and rather legalistic definition of a family as a kinship group could also be extended metaphorically, as in English language to refer to all relatives.

Membership in a family was sometimes accorded by adoption. In cases where a couple had no son, an “extra” son of a close relative might be adopted, although there were wide variations between families in the extent to which the child was actually assimilated into family inner cycle.

In most tribes, it was considered undesirable to adopt a son from an unrelated family, but the practice was in fact by no means uncommon, even when it is considered unfortunate. It was common for sisters to take children of their relatives and raise them as theirs.

A.2.5 sharing a common Household Budget

This means that the possessions, income, and expenses of all family members were pooled, and decisions about resources distributed were the

legitimate business of all family members, and were ultimately taken through the patriarchal authority structure of the family. It has been convincingly argued that common budget is one of the most important defining characteristics of Nigerian families. One effect of this custom is to define who is in or out of the family by means other than kinship. Kinship makes one a potential member of a family. However, close relatives can be in different families if the family has to stop sharing a budget.

When family members decided that their union had become economically and socially unviable (as result of dispute), they would agree to a division of the family resources (mainly land or in some cases properties) and creation of financial separate new families. Although, there might not be dispute between brothers but differences in their economic productivity and differences in the number of children (mainly boys) often led to argument that were most easily solved by family division of common assets. A usual mediator would be a sympatric but disinterested third party (possible from another family). Because of the cultural value placed on family unity, size, cooperation, and mutual support, family division was always considered an unfortunate event.

A.2.6 Normatively Extended in Form

This means that it ideally included a descent line of men and their wives and children. The usual Nigeria term was simply 'big family', which is different from the English term, which is sometimes placed in contrast to 'stem family' to provide a technical term for cross-cultural application.

The ideal Nigerian family might be headed by a patriarch and his wife, and include their sons and their wives, and children of all these people, including

perhaps some adults sons who already had wives, but excluding any daughters who had married out and become members of other families.

Although Nigeria population was increasing very rapidly throughout history, the average number of sons that a married couple had was two. When there was no male child, there was tremendous pressure to produce one, similar pressure did not existed where there is no female child.

A.3. Lineage

A distinction should be made between a descent line, a lineage, and a clan. In Nigeria, all the three entities are refer as descent group which lead to confusion in some cases.

In each case, the fundamental concept is that a person (male or female) is 'descended' from a succession of ancestors. This normally means being the son or daughter of a parent, it is possible to be adopted into (or ejected from) a descent line; what is at issue is social classification, not biology.

Nigerian descent is patrilineal, which means that descent was calculated through male links only (the same way that surname have traditionally descended through male links only in European and North American society).

My ancestors are my father, father's father, father's father's father, etc. although wives of male ancestors are considered also to be ancestors, a person's mother's mother's mother's mother, for example, is not an ancestor in a patrilineal descent system.

A distinctive feature of traditional Nigerian patrilineal descent is that a woman, at marriage, is assumed to be removed from her own descent line (except for

the acknowledgement of her immediate parents and grandparents) and assimilated into her husband's descent line.

A patrilineal descent line is the line of fathers and sons making up all of my male ancestors. In theory, I can regard it as going back to an atomic globule, or as starting at any ancestor and continuing down to me. I can also regard it as continuing down through my sons, their sons, their sons, and so on.

One characteristic of a descent line is that there is only one person per generation when I count up since a person has only one father), but there may be many people per generation looking down since a person may have many sons.

Another characteristic is that all ancestral generations successfully produced children – that is where I came from – but descending generations may or may not produce sons: any descent line has the prospect of dying out in the future.

Since any man, ancestral or descendent, may have a brother, and since the brothers of my ancestors are not ancestors to me, there are any numbers of “collateral” lines made up of their descendants. My father's brother's son (my patrilineal parallel cousin) is a collateral to me because I have one ancestor (my father) not shared with him.

A.3.1 A patrilineal lineage

A patrilineage is an organized group of descendants of a single, specific ancestor. The ancestor is referred to as an “apical” ancestor because he is at the “apex” of the genealogy by which the lineage membership is determined, and the descent links to this person are known (or anyway written in a genealogy where they can be looked up). In Nigeria, as in other lineage

system, it was (and is) regarded as incestuous to marry (or have sex with) a member of the same lineage.

In Nigeria a woman is a member of her father's lineage at birth, but after marriage, she is transferred to her husband's lineage. One effect of it is that it is usual for all members of the same family to be members of the same lineage. Women did not usually participate in lineage worship, however, and their level of interest in lineage was less than that of men. Despite the potential benefit of membership of a lineage, most lineages do not maintain written genealogy. Because lineages were based on kinship, and because different descent lines from the apical ancestor may have fared differently with the passing of generations, many lineages crosscut social classes. The richer members tended to provide lineage resources, which were used by poorer members, this tended to recycle wealth and reduce social class difference, but it also alienated the rich members from the lineages as these organizations began to be a financial drain. The downside of lineage system is that if a member engaged in illegal or immoral acts, it affects all and often led to lineage loss of face in their community.

A.3.2 Clan

A clan, as anthropologists use the term today, is a hybrid lineage system. That is to say, it is a property-holding group made up of descents of an apical ancestor, but the details of the descent lines from that ancestor are unknown. In some cases, the ancestor is clearly mythical or non-human. Clans in Nigeria were created based on common surname, usually asserting common descent from an ancient person of that name.

Clans provided a way in which Nigerian who traveled away from their home regions could locate putative kinsmen and procure assistance from them if necessary.

A.4 People Not in families

Not all Nigerian's were able to live in family groups. Flight from law, madness, and willful disregard for social mores were some of the reason why some individual might be excluded from a family group. People outside the family were usually regarded with a mixture of pity, suspicion, and contempt. They were usually unable to attain position of economic security or social prestige, and tend to live at the margin of their community as beggars, or labourers.

A.5 Marriage

Traditional Nigerian Marriages was not free union of two young adults to establish a new household. It was the movement of a woman from her natal family to her married family and her assimilation into the new family as an economically productive member of the family corporation and the mother of her husband's children.

In thinking about the social structural constraints on this, it is more useful to think of her as a newly hired corporate employee than as being like a western bride. As with all things, the final decision lay with the hierarchically senior decision maker in each family, although as a practical matter the most important voices in making the decision was that of the parents of the potential groom or bride.

A.6 Divorce

Grounds for divorce varies between tribes, however the most common grounds that applied to most tribes were based on moral codes provided by the village or town.

Some reason for granting divorce was:

- (a) insubordination to parent-in-law
- (b) failure to bear a son
- (c) lewd and vulgar
- (d) inclined to theft

A.7 Sexuality

Traditional Nigerian society was as prudish about sex as any other society, but since population reproduced itself nobody was fooled by the rhetoric. The customary teachings were that sex between married people and were for the purpose of producing heirs was proper. Beyond that, sex was seen as undignified. No known tribes in Nigeria advocated unrestrained sexual relationship.

Folklore includes tales that excessive sexual intercourse was dangerous for men, since they lost semen, identified as a man's 'power source' and thought to be a non-renewable resource necessary for life, a belief that is still widespread.

A.7.1 Extramarital sex and Homosexuality

Since most marriages were by arrangement, sexual attraction was at best a secondary consideration. A woman was not free to engage in extramarital sexual liaison (although they did occur), since children she might bear were to be heirs of the family. However, there was no similar constraint on men, whose extra-marital sexual affairs were usually regarded as unfortunate but

significant only if they threatened to drain the family wealth away from legitimate claimants.

I do not know of a study or folklore that address homosexuality in Nigerian traditional society. My guess is that such practices may have taken places and that people involved may have been described as being mad and disowned by their families.

A.8 Some Kinship Terminology

Most Nigerian tribes employed kingship terminology similar to the western societies.

Members of the nuclear family use descriptive kinship terms:

- (a) father: the husband of the mother and father of their children
- (b) mother: the wife of the husband and the mother of their children
- (c) Son: the males born of the wife and father
- (d) Daughter: the females born of the wife and father
- (e) Brother: a male born of the same mother
- (f) Sister: a female born of the same mother

Children who share one parent but not another are called 'half-brothers' or 'half-sisters'. Children who are adopted into the family are generally called by the same terms as children born into the family.

Where memberships were lineal, they are referred to in terms that build on the terms within the nuclear family:

- (a) grandfather – a parents' father
- (b) grandmother – a parents' mother

(c) grandson – a child's son

(d) grand daughter – a child's daughter

When they are collateral, they are referred to in more classificatory terms that do not build on the terms used within the nuclear family:

(a) Uncle – father's brother, father's sister's husband, mother's brother, mother's brother's husband.

(b) Aunt – father's sister, father's brother's wife, mother's sister, mother's brother's wife.

(c) Nephew – sister's sons, brother's son

(d) Niece – sister's daughters, brother's daughters.

When separated by additional generations (in other words, when one's collateral relatives belong to the same generation as one's grandparents or grandchildren), these terms are modified by the prefix "grand":

❖ Cousin – the most classificatory term; the children of aunts or uncles.

Cousins may be further distinguished by degree of collaterality and generation. A cousin who descended from one's grandparents is a 'first cousin' (that is one degree of collaterality); a cousin descended from one's great-grandparents is one's 'second cousin' (two degree of collaterality) and so on. A cousin separated by a generation is 'removed': one's first cousins grandchildren are 'first cousins' once removed; one's first cousins grandchildren are 'first cousins' twice removed; one's second cousin's children are second cousins once removed etc.

- ❖ Distant cousins of older generation (in other words, one's parents first cousin) are technically first cousin's once removed, but are often classified with "aunts" and "uncles"
- ❖ Similarly, a person may refer to close friends of one's parents as "aunt" or "uncle", or may refer to close friend as "brother" or "sister" (this is called fictive kinship)

ⁱ Several sources were referenced in putting together the Nigerian family in historical perspectives including: anecdotal stories, Nigerian storybooks etc. The actual lists of books and articles referenced are: (Schneider, 1997; Goode, 1963; Esemokumoh, 1996; Emeagwali, 1994; Encyclopaedia-world History review; Achebe, 1995; Emechata, 1994; Nwapa, 1966; Elechi-Amadi, 1989; Basden, 1958; Adewale, 1986; Afonja, 1990; Fadipe, 1970; Lloyd, 1972; Olusanya, 1970; Tuden, 1970; Babatunde, 1992 .

Appendix B

B.1 Transcript of Group Interviews with Nigerian Families

The group discussion participants include six married professionals' four men and two women. The discussion took place in the home of one of the members on a Sunday evening.

I believe that how we Nigerians manage our homes are determined based on gender and this is to do with the way we are brought back in Nigeria. As child,

I remember very vividly how my mum always encourages my sister to sit near her whenever she is cooking some special Nigeria dishes. While I in most cases spend time with my dad and my grand dad doing men's thing like in the case of my grand dad helping with Yam arrangement in the yam barn or with my dad helping with carrying out repairs in the house or his car. So the structure... back in Nigerian thought girls how best to look after the family more than the boys while boys are thought the best way to be a good husbands. Apart these apparent different treatments from our parents, I personally believe that women are better in organizing things than the men – they are very capable of handling the rules and demand of preparing Nigerian food for example. They are also better at nurturing than men. So if one is looking to know why division of family work takes a gender line, these factors must be considered. Okay you might argue that things have changed because wives are capable of earning as much as their husbands...but marriage in Nigerian culture is more than that. In Nigerian custom, responsibilities are designated to wives and the husbands alike. Now if for any reason there is change in their circumstances as is the case with [us] here in London...adjustments could be made to accommodate the new developments. for example, since we came to London, I have been doing certain family work that I would ordinarily would not do back in Nigeria...likewise my wife is now doing things that she is not suppose to do. However, this does not mean that the rule of marital relationships has changed...the fundamental rules are still the same but how it is being operated has been adjusted because of our circumstances as immigrants here in London.

”

Second Speaker:

Not only that we are raised differently with regards to what our responsibilities should be ...as [you] [the first speaker] pointed out, but the practice is heavily entrenched our custom that it will be impossible to stop without completely reversing the whole basis of Nigerian tradition. The fact is that our customs prescribes our responsibilities in marital relationships for example, that husbands should be responsibility for providing and protecting their family and wives are expected to take care of the welfare of the whole family, you cannot simply change this customs without changing the basis of marriage. Marital relationship within our culture recognizes 'natural aptitude; physique, and biological differences. For example, every Nigerian wife knows that her most important responsibility in a marriage is bearing children, It come before anything else. Likewise for every Nigerian husband, knows that his main responsibility is to provide protection and food for the baby and the mother. Again preparing the food to a satisfactory standard again naturally is within the remit of the wives, while providing shelter including making sure that all the facilities needed for preparing the food is available rests with the husbands. My analogy may seem very simplistic but if you look carefully, you will see that marital partnership at the most sophisticated level has not departed from this rudimentary complementary characteristics. So as long as the traditional norm that guides marriages and marital relations persists, I do not see immediate change in the pattern of division of family work within the Nigerian families”.

[First speaker then added to the second speakers' analogy by expanding further one of the points made by the second speaker]:

"...following on the point raised by the [second speaker], the physical demand of certain family tasks makes such tasks husbands responsibility for example, tasks like carrying out house repairs or activities which are physically demanding like lifting things in the house...those who developed our customs thought of all these issues before laying down the rules of marital obligations..."

Third Speaker:

"...on the strength of the points made by [earlier speakers]; I should add also that the reason why traditional pattern of division of family work still persists among Nigerian families here in London is because it is practical. Let me explain what I mean by using my family as example. My wife works longer hours some weeks...and in this situations I stayed with the children so that she can rest. However, in most times the children will prefer to stay with their mother, it is only a crazy man will insist that the children should stay with him against their will or with their mother. The second example is that I like to cook but our food is complex and requires somebody who has eye for detail and patience...and my wife has it in abundant... It is okay to suggest another pattern based on the popular trend, but the question is how it will meet the family needs particularly the children. In addition, we should always remember that back in Nigeria that husbands and wives in most cases work out side the home still family work was properly managed without any need for revolutions. Beside nothing has changed from the way we conduct our marriages...every aspect of our live here in London is still hooked to Nigeria including marriage contracts. So I do not see how the way that families are managed should be changed change without similar change in our culture".

Forth Speaker:

"I suppose for me the pattern of division of family work should be looked at from the point of how family need should be met rather than whether it fits with the trend. Because if we start looking at family work management from the [western society] perceptions than we will confuse matters...in the first place the basis of marriage in Nigerian culture is totally different from the western reasons for getting into marital relationship. It is natural that the way we conduct our internal family affairs should reflect this cultural issues. So I will say that I share the points made by the [first speaker]".

Before the invention of modern working practices, [9-5 employment] husband and wife worked outside the home in the farms and were able to manage family work also. Moreover, neither the wife nor husband felt then that their contribution is not as important as the other person's contribution. The most important factor considered was practicality and ability to perform particular tasks. Therefore, for us [Nigerians], our position here in London is not much different from the experiences of our parents back in Nigerian. From this standpoint therefore, I believe that division of family work remained entrenched in traditional pattern because it suits our circumstances and family orientations.

Sixth Speaker:

The traditional pattern of division of family work is in my opinion a workable and practical method that has stood a test of time. It will be inappropriate to change it simply because some people think it is not suitable for their circumstances. For [Nigerians], it is important that we put things into perspectives by that I mean consider our culture and customs, which, guides our marital relationship. The persistence of

Traditional pattern among Nigerian families in London does not surprise me because it is a better and more workable method. Unless a better way of managing family is invented, I believe that it is the best option available.

I do not see the sense of altering things purely for political reasons, and end up with an arrangement that is not suitable for the family”.

B. 2 Transcript of interviews with Nigerian Professional Families in London

(a) I would think that when one is trying to understand why things are as it is including, pattern of division of family work among immigrant that the first thought would be to look at the country of origin of the individual or group first to establish the type of relationship that exists between them. Take my self for example; I have lived in Britain for over thirty years. I came here as a young boy just over seventeen years of age, however, I never left my link with Nigeria in all this years; I married according to Nigerian customs, I am strongly engaged in Nigerian cultural activities and I am a strong member of Nigerian indigenous church. Therefore, you can argue that even though I am leaving very far away from Nigerian, the way my life and my family life is conducted has not departed from Nigerian. [Mathorphorically speaking] So looking at it from this point of view you can understand why I strongly share and believe in the traditional way of managing families” [participant 14]

(b) I came to London to study ...when I was twenty four years old after my first degree back in Nigeria, that is fifteen years ago. I went back to Nigeria ten years ago to marry my wife whom I met at the university...we married according to Nigerian traditions with all the hang-ups that go with it... I am a strong member of Nigerian tribal associations here in London. I have never actually think about this issue but that you have asked me...I will definitely say that strong association with Nigerian and Nigerian community here in London help in maintaining the pattern of division of family work among [us]. You see although we live in London but as I have pointed out to you, our live style is still strongly based on Nigerian traditional ethos. Some aspects of our social life may have changed but the fundamental aspects are still very strongly allied to Nigeria” [participant 2].

(c) I married in Nigerian church after full traditional marriage back in Nigeria...I met my wife here in London but instead of going through white wedding and court marriage as it is practiced here[in London], we decided to follow the route that our parents followed. To answer your questions... first you should understand that our religious teachings are implicitly linked to Nigerian cultural prescriptions. Therefore, it is not surprising that traditional pattern dominated the way Nigerians manage their families here in London. Secondly, most here in London have the choices of adopting the [white people ways] instead we choose to maintain the traditional practices by marrying according to Nigerian customs and abiding by the rules... consequently, how family work is managed will retain that pattern also...you simply can not...”[participant 6]

(e) I think it is important for Nigerian families here in London to Maintain the traditional pattern of dividing family work. Because if we are the escape the rot that is taking over the mainstream families...my view on why the traditional pattern persist is because we have several Nigerian tribal associations that encourage Nigerians to maintain our culture and also our family

values. Personally, I would not subscribe to any other pattern of dividing family work. In my view, any other pattern will not fit well with our tradition marriage arrangements. Also Historically the way that families are managed back in Nigerian help us to with stand some difficulties and problems... here in London the problem is even worse and the only mechanism that is helping us to copy is the way we manage our internal affairs” [participant 12].

(f) The way things are ordered in Nigerian encourages division of family work based on sex, in marriages. Any attempt to understand why family work is divided by gender one need to first, understand customary prescription that define how marriages should be conducted within the Nigerian families settings because it has significant the way family work is divided between husband and wife. I am not suggesting that being brought up in an environment where family work is divided by gender that one blindly retains the practice or norm. Nevertheless, it is obvious that we still abide by the traditional ways even though that we are now living away from home. For example, I married my husbands under the Nigerian customs...so how we manage the family is also based on the customs....” (Participant 14)

(g) Being the first girl in my family, I am aware of the differences in treatment from my mother in particular. Whenever my mother is cooking, she always insists that I stay and watch what she is doing. Sometimes I protested that my brother should join us, but my mum would say to me that my brother would grow up and become a man that he is not expected to know how to prepare good food, that a good woman should know how to prepare good food. I remembered vividly that whenever my mum was going out she always instruct me to take care of the house particularly my sisters and brothers including my father. She never say the same thing to my brother...instead she will tell my brother to watch over us that he is now honorary man of the house...my father was less assertive in that he always play with all of us .Although sometimes especially when he wants to work in his car he tends to consult my brother more. On occasion when he wants to go to certain places, he takes my brother and if I protested, he will say to me that the place they are going to admit men and boys only. Often my mother will confirm that it is the case. My toys use to be toll babies, prawns or cooking tools while my brother always end up with either gun or machinery tools like sword. As a child you do not see any thing wrong with the differences in the treatment you receive from your parents ...you grow up believing that it is a natural way. I have two girls and two boys and I must admit I am repeating the pattern ...I am more strict with my girls particularly on personal hygiene. I also encourage my daughter to participate in performing housework than I do with my boy. So you may wonder why I am repeating what my parent did to me on my children ...” (participant 14).

(h) We are six children in my family four boys and two girls. I am the eldest. ...although being a boy I felt from the way my dad treats me that he was grooming me for a role which, in retrospect was different from the way my sisters were groomed. For example, whenever there was some major meeting in the family involving the elders my father will insists that I must come with him. If my sister wants to come with us he would say to her “my daughter the place we are going is only for boys ...do not worry when next we will go to place were girls are allow I will take you with your brothers”. I was never permitted to take food from the kitchen. I must wait or ask my sisters to dish food for me. My mother’s reason was that men and boys should never be allow to dish food because they are very inconsiderate and selfish...that they do not consider other when they are hungry. Looking back, I do not think that my parents are being sexist...rather I see it that they are preparing us differently according to the role that we will eventually take up as either husband or wife. As a man, I know that there are certain responsibilities that are solely mine to take care of irrespective of my wife position and vice-versa.

When you are brought up to behave in certain ways you are bound to accept it as the norm especially if it is a universal practice in your community". I think the main reason that traditional pattern of dividing family work is popular among Nigerians living in London is because it fits very well with our lifestyle and it also offers us a better way of fulfilling our family obligations. There is a saying in Nigerian "that if you want a farmer to make a good hip, you must provide him/her with the proper tools that suit the soil". Thus, in relation to family work, if you want couple is to fulfill their respective role in the family you must have some arrangement that will enable them to achieve it. In my view, the pioneers of what you describe as traditional pattern of dividing family work considered these facts...and that is why it is very popular with Nigerians and has survived for such a long time. If we suddenly change it simply because we live in London, Nigerian family will start to disintegrate like the [white families]. Take for instance, the responsibility for making sure that there is food in the house. If we are to follow the western argument, the responsibility will be split equal between husband and wife. What is going to happen when it is husbands turn to make sure that there is food in the house but he is away for work or something? The children may have to go hungry until he is back. I know that the example is too simplistic...but it is only a demonstration of the silliness of the alternative arrangement that I often read in the western media. In my house, we put practicality above anything else...and it so happen that what you describe as the traditional pattern [I do not know why you prefer to call it traditional ...] fits well with meeting my family need...." (Participant 6)

(I) when I was growing up I could not recall being treated differently from my brothers. However, for some reason, which I cannot explain, I like to help my mother more in preparing food and looking after my younger brothers and sisters. I was keener to learn how to cook and my mother was ever willing to teach me and some times allow me to tests food and give my verdict. For my father he is always protective of all of us but he pays more attention to what I do. For example, if my brothers are climbing tree or playing some boys game like wrestling he always persuade me not to take part, also he always encourage my brothers to protect me whenever we are playing outside or at school. Whenever my mother is away I always attempt to behave like her...the way I speak to my dad, by brothers....often they will be making joke of my acting" As a Nigerian who has lived in London for over thirty years ...I have watched every aspect of our custom being wiped away from the face of this earth by a combination of racism and poverty. So the only remaining aspect of culture left is the way we manage our families.....if you look at Nigerian families compared with others you will notice that deliberate single parent families are few and wide....this is because the traditional pattern of managing Nigerian families provides protection for both wife, husband, and children....."(Participant 5)

(j) My father was a Chief Judge and my mother was a secondary school principal, we lived a much protected life. I was never allowed to perform household chores like washing, cooking or look after my brothers and sisters because we have a live-in housekeeper, a cook, and handy – man. The only time I enter the kitchen was when I want to impress my friends. My mother was such a busy woman ...she is always on the move from one conference to another. But I observed that in spite her busy schedule that she always devote time to organise my dad food, and to make sure that things are running smoothly...in short she never neglected her responsibility as a wife in a Nigerian context. I observed also that employing or sacking of nannies or housekeeper including paying them was the sole responsibility of my mother. However, concerning the handy man my father deals with all complain or concern regarding what he does including payment, and his holidays. Although, sometimes my fathers referred

him to my mum... We never take active part in the performance of most of the family work but the orientations we receive from our parents implicitly thought us that boys and girls have different roles in the family". (Participant 16)

(k) As the only boy in a family of five sisters, my role as the patriarch was clearly marked from the early age... I hardly spend time with my mother I am always with my father in his chambers. I remembered him explaining to me that what makes a good husband is a man who can look after his family... when ever I am with my mum, she never encourages me to show any interest in domestic activities the way she encourages my sisters. We have house keepers and cook ...so when ever my mum was not around or will not be around she will instruct one of my sisters to take inventory of things to buy or works to be carried out... he never involved me. But whenever there was issue to trash out with the driver she would send me for example, taking cars to garages for servicing or for washing... My childhood experience I would say has a very strong influence on how I perceive and behave with respect to what I do or not do in my house I am often surprise that questions like yours are being asked... because if one really understands what marriage means for Nigerian then he or she would not be asking this type of question. My understanding of gender roles in marriage is as a Christian is based first on God definitions of how a family should be organized; secondly, on the customary prescriptions. Now within these two definitions, traditional pattern of dividing family work is strongly entrenched in the instruction or prescriptions... so if you believe in the customs and in God teachings, you will also believe and practice traditional pattern. It encompasses all God thought and instructions on marital responsibilities; it also fits well with our customs and values. If you want to move away from the traditional pattern, as a Nigerian and a Christian, you have to first move away from the custom. This is because any other way of managing family work that you may prefer will not fit with the customary bases of marriage. Secondly you have to become a none-believer again because any other pattern that you will adopt will not follow the instructions as laid down by God... so Nigerian strongly believes in our customs and are also strong Christians and that is why many of them preferred to maintain traditional pattern of dividing family work....." (Participant 2)

(L) Well, I did not really do anything in the house as a boy ...but my sisters are always helping out our house-keeper sometimes. It was not entirely my fault... my parents never encouraged me ...they only encourage my sisters. On many occasions, my mother would persuade my sisters to stay with our cook and learn how to prepare certain food. She would say to my sisters 'it is important that you know how to prepare this food or that meat because when you get married you will have to prepare them for your husbands'... she never said things like that to me... so I grew up with the understanding that domestic activities are specifically meant for girls" (Participant 15)

(M) I never think about these issues before but now that you have asked me questions about it ...I have to explain how I view the situation to you... I strongly believe that it is proper that Nigerian families maintained separate responsibility for husbands and wives. According to custom and folklore, husbands should maintain their responsibilities as the main provider for the family and perform other house services as expected of him while wives should maintain their responsibilities as the organizer of the family domestic affairs irrespective of other activities that they are involve in. However, we live in a different society from our parents but we still conduct our life in the same way as our parents... I do not know whether my answer address the issue that you are interested in. The point I am making is that many Nigerian strongly belief in the idea of dividing responsibilities within the home by gender... and that I do not see the pattern changing in the foreseeable feature...." (Participant 7)

(N) The problem with way the western society interpret family work creates confusion because they categorizes family work.....giving one aspect higher value than the other; consequently, the aspect of family work that they give higher value is the husbands' tasks. In Nigerian custom, every aspect of family work is valued equally, none is more important than the other you cannot say that earning money is more important than looking after the children or cooking family meal, so as long as most Nigerian held the view that family work should remain segregated by gender ...the pattern would not change. I am very good at cooking Nigerian food, as a young girl back in [Nigeria] you are thought the act of performing this duty, boys are never encouraged to learn the act of cooking...or other home management activities.....from this perspective I do not have any strong view against wives running the home,...traditionally we all have our specialty in the home front.....my husbands specialties includes painting decorations, ironing, repairs, and other physically demanding tasks.....we all have our fair share of responsibility. The traditional pattern is structured in such a way to recognise natural abilities and strengths ...in my view this is one aspect of the traditional pattern that makes attractive to Nigerian women..." (Participant 11)

(O) Society very often defines how family operates. Although we may not accept it ...but it is true, if a Nigerian husbands for example, fail to perform his expected duty [provider role] he will be labeled. Likewise if wife fail to perform her expected duty she will be critiqued..., I have met Nigerians who ridicules other Nigerian particularly husbands because they are not performing their providers role adequately....In our town association meetings we have deliberated many times on this particular issues. So there is still strong acceptance among Nigerians that family work should remain segregated and that to me makes it extremely difficult for Nigerian to change" (Participant 18)

(P) We have three children aged between 3 years to eight years old. Our utmost priority is to give them the best possible up bringing...and to do that one have to relegate sentiment or keeping up with social trend. By that I mean adopting latest fad in marital relations like "the equality politics" and stuffs like that, and take a pragmatic view and adopt a practice that will help you to achieve the best favourable result for your family. The choice you make may not be suitable for every family...but what will count is that it meets you specific needs. So my answer to your question is that, persistent of traditional pattern of dividing family work among Nigerian families here in London is simply because it satisfies the family's needs and from the circumstantial point of view have lesser negative consequences for the Nigerian... I think that for one to understand why certain practices persist within a community or a group, one should take into account the groups interpretation of their situations. In this case you have to understand the Nigerians definitions of what amounts to better arrangements...with regards to how family work is best managed...once, you understand that ...then you can see why the traditional pattern is dominant among Nigerian families here in London. My personal interpretation is that it is more suited [beneficial] to Nigeria way of life than any other alternative. It offers better solution to our needs of Nigerian families" It is okay to question why people preferred an arrangement that some people viewed [particularly the western feminist] as repressive to certain group [women]. ...but if you are from Nigerian and you are very knowledgeable of our customs, you will understand that alternative arrangement cannot satisfy our custom in relation to marital responsibilities. If you look very closely on the alternative that many western media are offering (equal sharing of every aspect of family work), you will immediately notice that it is not workable... [At least for us] in practice, it will only create confusion and tension within the family. The immediate consequences will be disruption and

unhappiness. However, with traditional pattern, there is clarity of what is expected of each person... [mind you it does not mean that the boundaries are written in stone by that I mean, it does not mean that once a person is allocated responsibility that it can not be perform by the other person]... from this perspective, you can understand why Nigerian found the pattern more preferable. In my family for example, I finish work at 5 pm and sometimes reach home by 6 pm or later, sometimes I got home before my husband sometimes he got home before me. Who ever get home first collects the children from the minder and prepares dinner for them. [Although most of the time it involved warming food that I prepared over the weekend and stored] It is my responsibility to make sure that there is food in the house and that it is prepared. However, it not solely my responsibility to make sure that children are fed on time...so you see, even though that I am responsible for making sure that food is in the house as our custom prescribes, it does not mean that I should be...oversee every thing. So traditional pattern might appear very rigid in principle but in practice it is very flexible and more importantly, it does not the tag of 'political correctness' that can easily bring about conflict in the family or rather turn family matter into power issue..." (Participant 17)

(Q) Marriage and family as you know has a very strong sentimental value in Nigerian cultural paradigm ...I am not a defendant of traditional values...so I do not want you to misconstrue the point am making. However, I strongly believe that the traditional pattern of dividing family work offered best possible value to Nigerians than any other possible arrangement. It is obvious that our ancestors gave a serious thought to our unique family relations need before putting together the pattern....okay, circumstances may demand that individual couples make some alterations but the overall picture is that it is more favorable to our ways and values. Therefore, in my view, this is one of the reasons that the pattern still endured among Nigerians families here in London despite changes in our circumstances. For my family, we practice the traditional pattern of dividing family work because it is working very well for us ...my wife is happy; I am happy and the children are happy which to me is what really matters in all this ...it is not perfect however, the good aspects of the arrangement far outweigh the negative consequences.." (Participant 10)

(R) If you take the view that how families manages of family work contributes to the overall happiness of the entire family. Then you have to think of the best practices that can enable you to achieve it. This may require striking a balance between adopting practices that has been shown to offer measurable benefits or to adopt exotic practices that may be generally popular but carries greater negative consequences for the family. This is the way I see it...I am a fervent supporter of traditional pattern of dividing family work because I see it as the better practice that meet our need better here in London...I am therefore not surprise that it is more popular among Nigerian families than other alternative practices" (Participant 8)

(S) I do not think that it is easy to pin down the reason why the traditional pattern of dividing family work persisted among Nigerians....but personally I believe that it persisted because it has been shown to offer better consequences for Nigerian families than other possible patterns...also I believe that the negative consequences is minimal compared with the alternatives...." (Participant 4)

(U) I am a medical doctor and my wife is a barrister, we both work very long hour and sometimes we both work well into midnight ...sometimes I am on night duty for a week or more. Therefore, you can see that our family typified the modern family of twenty first century. With regard to how we manage our family work, despite our hectic work schedule ...I can tell

you that it is strictly traditional. We are [my wife and myself] aware of our responsibilities. My wife knew that what ever she does that priority must be given to smooth operations in the home front, likewise myself I know that what ever that I am doing that my family obligations are fulfill. She makes sure that there is food in the house and that other necessary arrangement for the children is made...sometimes she allocates some of the duties to me. I never insisted that she serve my dinner...I simply help myself with her consent [by the way as Nigerian custom demand]. On my side I always make sure, that there is petrol in the car and that there is enough money in the family account. Therefore, the traditional pattern may appear so unfashionable to the outsiders but to us it offers best alternative. My prediction is that it will remain the mainstay of our family system for a very long time because it is the most workable arrangement...” (Participant 3)

(T) What I see about traditional pattern of dividing family work which, may have contributed to its popularity among Nigerian families is that it sees every part of family work as important to the overall survival of the family, thus placing whoever that is responsible for any aspect of a task ...equally important. For example, my wife knows how to prepare some of the best Nigerian dishes and I cannot tell you enough how my children and myself appreciates it. Likewise, in my capacity as the father of the house, I carry out my duty with dedication, my wife, and the children show appreciation. If we allow ourselves to be charm into an arrangement that will blur up this strength what is will get in return will be very unpleasant for everybody....” (Participant 1)

(U)It may not be proper to compare family organization with the business organization...but I think that in order to make my position more understandable I will have to do that.....”You see in business setups, people are appointed to a position because they are capable of performing the tasks and because the company’s sees or recognise their abilities. In making these appointments, the overriding goal of the organization is to improve productivity. The same principle applies to the concept of managing family work. You have to recognise that [in this case husband and wife] have strengths and weaknesses so that when you and your wife allocated tasks they have to consider this fact. Secondly, the overall goal of providing happiness for the primary agents [the children] and all the other parties including [husband and wife] should also be considered.....” (Participant 15)

(V) Often our sex directs our dispositions; domestic work for some reason appeals to Nigerian women more than it appeals to Nigerian men. Likewise physical demanding activities appeals to Nigerian men more than it appeal to Nigerian women...maybe it has some thing to do with how we are created. There is strong evidence of masculine and feminine factor on what aspect of task is performed by either wife or husband. So even if we reconstruct it .Because of our socio-political belief, you discover that it naturally reverses back to sexualities.....” (Participant 3)

(W) You can say that traditional pattern of dividing family work serve [us] Nigerian interests better and that is why many of [us] prefer it. I will however, disagree that it is the best ...because we have been indoctrinated with traditional pattern so we tends to see it as the best option...I am sure that if we adopt the new approaches that after sometime that we will admit that it is better than the traditional pattern. Although, I have to admit that I am still practicing the traditional pattern in my family...I guess you may describe be as a confused hypocrites. A Christian traditional way of running family in my view persists among Nigerians because it is inspired by the word of God. I do not want to ‘over-load’ you with the biblical instructions to Christians on the role of husbands and wives in a Christian marriage...but if you go to Ephesus

chapter 3, you will read God's instructions to husbands and wife. Also if you look at 1st Peter, chapter 3, verse 1 – 7 you read further God's instruction to wives and husbands...and if you compare the biblical instructions with the traditional pattern of dividing family work you will observe some similarities... the traditional prescriptions amplified God's instruction as well as making it amenable to present day needs of families. Now if you chose to organise your family in a different way simply because it is trendy or more acceptable to every body particularly, none-believers...you are then disobeying God..., as you know when you disobey...you always are punished. So when you are addressing the question of why traditional pattern of dividing family work is popular among Nigerian particularly, the Christians...you have to look beyond the narrower concept and go further and look at the wider picture particularly, the effects on family relations. There is a saying in Nigeria folklore 'that when an object survive a test of time...then you know that there is something special about that object that called for treating it with some respect' Traditional pattern has stood test of time because it was fashioned out-off the need to achieve family harmony and happiness ...and also it was aimed at maximizing the potentials of the couple for the benefit of all...as instructed by God. My wife is a highly educated person...she can survive on her own ...but she chose to marry me according to our customs and God guidelines, by going through this path we have accepted to observe God instructions and operate our family accordingly..."

(Participant 9)

(X)When God created first man and women, he laid down instructions for them including their roles. When God instructed Noah to build the ships he gave him instructions including the roles that each member of his family should perform. These instructions where carefully structured by God to reflect each persons ability, strength etc. Traditional pattern of dividing family work as is practiced in Nigeria culture is designed similarly to the God instructions...it took into considerations individual strength, specialization, and natural ability. So that is one of the reasons Nigerians here preferred it instead of the other possible arrangement.

My parents where both senior civil servants when we were growing up in Nigeria. Family work was never an issue...neither my mother or fathers career suffered in any way because the family work arrangement was based strictly on the traditional pattern...my mother rose to the position of a minister and my father as a high court judge...they both retired now. Therefore, it is absolute nonsense to suggest that traditional pattern somehow hold women back or that by adopting some politically motivated pattern that family life will change for better for women, the children and others. In my family my responsibilities encompasses those tasks that a father and a husband should be responsible for according to God instructions and our customs. Likewise, my wife is responsible for those tasks that a wife and mother should be responsible for in a Christian home. Now because of our circumstances here in London, if my wife wants me to assist her in doing performing some task ...I will help, also if I want her to help me she does the same... according to God instructions see first Corinthians chapter 7, marriage is about sacrifice and servitude. When you start looking at marital relationship from purely social perspective, it is then that you start to questions certain practices and arrangements...I hope that I have answered your questions..." (Participant 13)

APPENDIX C

Characteristics of Nigerian in London

D.1 Nigerian community in the UK

The size of Nigerian community in the UK is greater than the population of other Black African communities in the UK. The 1991 census recorded 202,842 people describing themselves as Black Africans (0.4% of the UK population). However, the national centre for social research estimates, which was based on the 1991 census and the home office account of entry figures from Black African countries from 1992 to 1997, projected that people from Nigeria (and children of people from Nigeria) make up about a third of the black African population in England at close to 80,000 community members. Those from Ghana as the second largest black African group in England; they make up another fifth (or 21%) at over 50,000 community members. So Nigerians and Ghanaians together account for about half of Black Africans in the UK.

These estimates are likely to be conservative for the following reasons:

- (a) These figures did not include hidden populations, for example, people entering the UK who are unable to obtain work permit or are refused refugee status;
- (b) Some existing residents whose appeals to remain in the UK have been rejected, or leave to remain or sponsorship has expired are most likely to be excluded from the calculation;
- (c) The black African population is likely to be under-recorded in the census because asylum seekers or those worried about their immigration status may be wary of official contact. In addition, people in black African population may live in temporary or shared accommodation. These possible factors may reduce their participation rate.

Table D.1. Summary of the size of the five largest black African community in the UK

Key Features	Nigeria	Ghana	Somali	African Ugandans
Community size Census(1) Head of Households(2) Home Office(3)	38,980 17,942 22,320	28,909 11,978 9,569	 14,495	8,468 1,084 6,339(inc Asian Ugandans)
Location London borough(4)	Lambeth Lewisham Southwark	Barnet Brent Haringey Kensington Lambeth Southwark Wandsworth	Islington Newham Tower Hamlets Southall	Haringey Islington Lewisham Merton Newham Southwark
Migration to the UK during the 1990	Mainly students	Mainly students	Asylum seekers	Asylum seekers Students
Languages Widely spoken languages	English	English	Somali/ English	English
Main ethnic groups	Yoruba Ibo Hausa/Fulani	Akan/Twi, Kwa, Gur, Ashante, Fante	Isaaq- Northern Hawiye- Southern Bravanese	Baganda/Bantu Luo/Nilotics
Religion	Christian Muslim African Religion	Christian Muslim Indigenous	Sunni Muslim	Christian Indigenous

(1) McMunn et al (1999)

(2) Number describing themselves as Black African and born in one of the four communities at the time of 1991 census

(3) Number describing themselves as Black African and born in the UK with head of household from one of the four communities at the time of 1991 census

(4) Number of Black African admitted to the UK 1992-1997. Includes visitors staying less than six months and people of white ethnicity and ethnic Indians

Borough containing one or more of the ten authority wards with the largest number of black African born in one of the four communities home countries. Except Somali

D.2. Migration History

The lengths of time people have lived in the UK varied greatly, Nigerian community have been established in the UK since the 1960s, following their independence. Nigerian has second and third generations born in the UK and older generation are returning to Nigeria.

The causes of migration to UK by Nigerian and other Black Africans varied for each community during the past sixty-year or so. For instance, Nigerian communities comprised mainly voluntary, planned migration and students in the sixties and seventies. More recently, there have been instances of political and economic migrants.

D.3. Other Characteristics

The widely spoken language within the Nigerian community in London is English language – courtesy of coloniasation and subsequent English education. The main religion practiced is varied (i.e. mixture of African religion, Muslin, modern religion, and mainstream religions). Various types of organisations exist within the Nigerian communities in the UK. For example, you have informal hometown or clan groups, usually separated by gender. These organisations were not widely advertised and were often difficult to notice. Other umbrella groups or unions were also a feature of Nigerian communities. These groups had welfare and social functions in the UK as well as engaging in fund raising activities to support communities back in Nigeria.

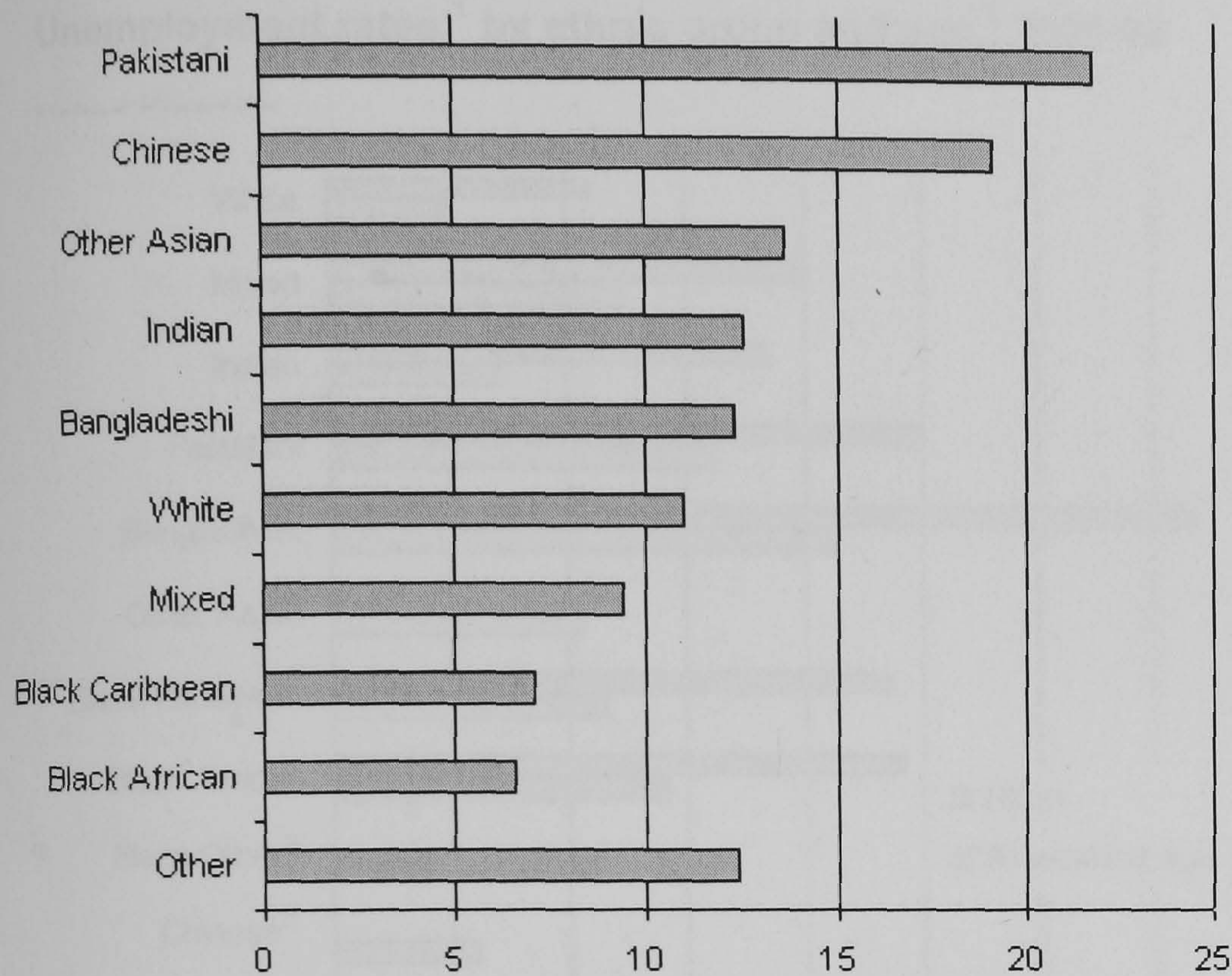
Formal church based and informal groups were a focus of social gatherings of Nigerians.

According Berthoud (2003) Black Africans are among the ethnic minority groups in UK with high level of educational qualifications. However, there is low level of professional employment in the Black African communities.

Black Africans are the least likely of any ethnic group to own or by buying their accommodation and the least likely to in a house. Furthermore, black Africans tend to have high level of overcrowding and inadequate amenities.

Features	Nigerian	Ghanaian	Somali	African Ugandans
Employment Status				
Unemployed	21%	16%	High unemployment	44%
Students	22%	9%		17%
Looking after home	11%	10%		14%
Employed	46%	65%		25%
Education and Qualifications				
A level and above	37%	27%	High level prof / graduate	24%
None	63%	73%		76%
Social Class				
I/II & IIINM	60%	50%	N/K	74%
IIIM & IV/V	40%	50%		26%
Housing				
Owner occupiers	26%	40%	N/K	17%
Renting	74%	60%		83%
Demographic Background				
19 years or under	62%	11%	Majority under 40	25%
20-59 years	37%	87%		74%
over 60 years	1%	3%		1%
Marital Status				
Married	54%	51%	Growth in lone mothers	25%
Single	34%	35%		69%

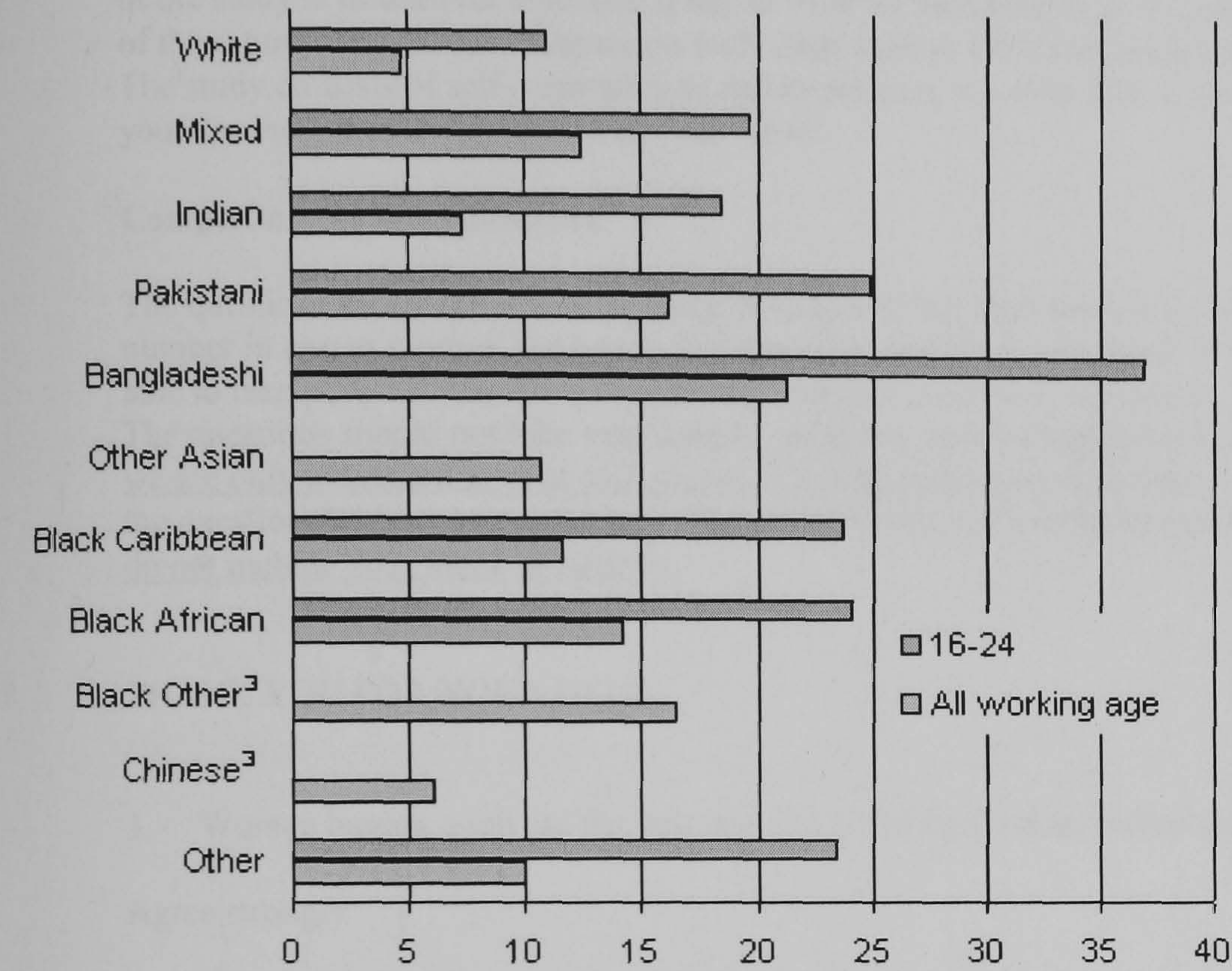
Self-employment:^{1,2} by ethnic group, 2001-02
United Kingdom



Other	12.4
Black African	6.6
Black Caribbean	7.1
Mixed	9.4
White	11.0
Bangladeshi	12.3
Indian	12.5
Other Asian	13.6
Chinese	19.1
Pakistani	21.8

1 Percentage of all in employment who were self-employed.
2 See Appendix, Part 4: Annual Local Area Labour Force Survey.
Source: Annual Local Area Labour Force Survey, Office for National Statistics

Figure 4.20
 Unemployment rates:¹ by ethnic group and age,² 2001-02
 United Kingdom



	All working age	16-24
Other	10.0	23.4
Chinese ³	6.0	..
Black Other ³	16.4	..
Black African	14.1	24.1
Black Caribbean	11.6	23.7
Other Asian	10.7	..
Bangladeshi	21.3	36.9
Pakistani	16.1	24.9
Indian	7.3	18.4
Mixed	12.4	19.7
White	4.7	10.9

1 See Appendix, Part 4: Unemployment and Annual Local Area Labour Force Survey.
 2 Males up to the age of 64, females up to the age of 59.
 3 16-24 year olds, sample size too small for reliable estimates.
 Source: Annual Local Area Labour Force Survey, Office for National Statistics

APPENDIX D. QUESTIONNAIRE

To the Selected Respondents

Thank you very much for agreeing to take part in this important study – Of Nigerian Families in Britain. The aim of the study is to uncover evidence if any of internal adjustments as a result of changed social circumstances. Some of these questions are for comparison with other studies involving other ethnic groups living in United Kingdom. The study consists of self – completion questionnaires, we want you to answer the questions without consulting your spouse as we are interested in your views.

Completing the Questionnaire

The questions inside cover a wide range of subjects, but each one can be answered simply by placing a tick or a number in one or more of the boxes. No special knowledge is required. We are confident that everyone will be able to take part, not just those with strong views or particular viewpoint. The questions should not take very long to complete, and we hope you will find it interesting and enjoyable. Please we are only interested in your own views or belief, and not anyone else. For this reason we expect you to answer the questions without any assistance. The answer you give will be treated as confidential and anonymous. Please do not include your name or address.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP.

1. Women having a job are the best way for her to be an independent person.

Agree strongly []

Agree []

Neither agrees nor disagrees []

Disagree []

Disagree strongly []

(DK) []

1b. Do you agree or disagree that a man should stay at home and care for the children while the women goes out to work?

Agree strongly [],

Agree []

Neither agrees nor disagrees []

Disagree []

Strongly disagree []

(DK) []

1c. A man’s main responsibility is to earn money, and woman’s responsibility is to look after the home and the family.

Agree strongly []

Agree []

Neither agrees nor disagrees []

Disagree []

Strongly disagree []

(DK) []

1d. Most women work only to earn money for their personal use, rather than to support their families. What are your views?

Agree strongly []

Agree []

Neither agrees nor disagrees []

Disagree []

Disagree strongly []

(DK) []

1e. It does not matter any more if children born in United Kingdom no longer learn our traditions, customs and values, as long as they get a good western education.

Strongly agree []

Agree []

Neither agrees nor disagrees []

Disagree []

Disagree strongly []

(DK) []

1f. Do you approve or disapprove the fact that young people of Nigerian parentage do not speak much of the Nigerian language like their parents.

Strongly approve []

Approve []

Neither approves nor disapproves []

Disapprove []

Disapprove strongly []

(DK) []

1g. How often do you speak a Nigerian language with your children?

All the time []

75% of the time []

50% of the time []

25% of the time []

Not at all []

(DK) []

1h. If people of your town invited you to become their traditional chief, at same time you have been offered the post of a manager , and you cannot of course do both. What will you do?

Becomes a Manager []

Becomes a traditional chief []

(DK) []

1i. How often do you do the following with your child/children or intend to do the following with your child/children:

Talk to them what it means to be a black father in Britain? Rarely [], often [], always []

Talk to them about racial oppression ? Rarely [], often [], always []

Talk to them about being black in Britain? Rarely [], often [], always []

2a. Parents should encourage just as much independence for their daughters as in their sons

Strongly agree []

Agree []

Disagree []

Disagree strongly []

(DK) []

- 2b. Who does an average Nigerian man/woman think is really in control of the family?
 The husband []
 The wife []
 (DK) []
- 2c. If a husband and wife both work full time, they should share housework tasks equally.
 Strongly agree []
 Agree []
 Disagree []
 Disagree strongly []
 (DK) []
- 2d. If a wife makes financial contributions to the management of the household, the husband should also share in all domestic and child care work in the house.
 Strongly agree []
 Agree []
 Disagree []
 Disagree strongly []
 (DK) []
- 2c. Who do you belief should be responsible for the general care of the children (i.e) taking/bringing them back from school, taking them to the doctors, or taking them out for play?
 Mainly wife's []
 Mainly husbands []
 Shared equally []
 (DK) []
- 2d. Who should be organising the household money and payment of bills?
 Mainly wife's []
 Mainly Husband's []
 Shared equally []
 (DK) []
- 2e. Who should repair the household equipment?
 Mainly the wife's []
 Mainly the husband's []
 Shared equally []
 (DK) []
- 2f. Who should look after the children when they are sick?
 Mainly husband's []
 Mainly wife's []
 Shared equally []
 (DK) []
3. How much (in percentage) do you contribute to family budget every week from your salary?
 76 – 90% []
 51 - 75% []
 25 – 50% []
 0 - 24% []
4. If a wife is contributing to family budget every week, do you think that it is proper to share domestic work between husband and wife?
 No []
 Yes []
 (DK) []
- 4b. Who is the person mainly responsible for the general care of the child/children?

- Mainly the wife []
- Mainly the husband []
- Shared equally []
- (DK) []

4c. Who is the person mainly responsible for general domestic duties in the household?

- Mainly the husband []
- Mainly the wife []
- Shared equally []
- (DK) []

4d. Who organises the household money and payment of bills?

- Mainly the wife []
- Mainly the husband []
- Each person takes care of his/her own money []
- (DK) []

4e. Who does the evening dishes?

- The husband []
- The wife []
- The children []
- Shared equally []
- (DK) []

4f. Who does the household cleaning?

- The children []
- The husband []
- The wife []
- Shared equally []
- (DK) []

4g. Who does the washing and ironing?

- The wife []
- The children []
- The husband []
- Shared equally []
- (DK) []

5. In a situation whereby husband and wife both have full time jobs, how suitable do you think each of these child- care arrangements would be for the child/children?

	<u>Very suitable.</u>	<u>somewhat suitable.</u>	<u>not suitable.</u>
(a) a state or local authority nursery	[]	[]	[]
(b) a private crèche or nursery	[]	[]	[]
(c) a child minder or baby sitter	[]	[]	[]
(d) a neighbour	[]	[]	[]
(e) a friend	[]	[]	[]
(f) a relative	[]	[]	[]

6. When did you came to Britain First.....

7. What was your reason for coming to Britain.....

8. Did you have any family relations living here before you came?
.....
.....

9. Did you stay with these relations when you arrived?
.....
.....

10. Did your relations help you to settled in, i.e. help you to find a job, accommodation?
.....
.....

11. Where did you meet your husband/wife?
.....
.....

12. Do two of you belong to the same religion?
.....
.....

13. What things have not been possible here for you, which would have been possible in Nigeria?
.....
.....

14 What problems did you have in your early days in Britain?

.....
.....

15. What problem would you say you are having now as a resident in Britain?

.....
.....
.....

16. What changes or compromises have you and your wife made in order to cope with life in Britain?

.....
.....

17. Do you feel that these changes or compromises will stay with you, if you ever go back to Nigeria? And why?
.....
.....

18. What effect has your church and their leaders have in your life in Britain? For example, helping you cope
with pressure of life here.

.....
.....

19. In general, how religious minded would you say you are/

very religious minded.....[]
fairly religious minded.....[]
average.....[]
less than average.....[]
not at all.....[]

20. In what religion were you raised?

Protestant.....[]
Catholic.....[]
Moslem.....[]
Other, please specify.....[]
None.....[]

21. What is your present religion today?

Moslem.....[]

Protestant.....[]
Catholic.....[]
Others, please specify.....[]
None.....[]

22. What was the highest level of education that you completed?

Higher school.....[]
University Grad.....[]
Post grad.....[]
Professional Qualification.....[]
Other, Please specifies.....[]

23. How many children do you have.....

24. What is the age of your oldest child.[] 25. What is the age of your youngest child []

26. How many years have you been married [].

27. What is your tribal origin? (e.g,Igbo, Tiv,etc).....

28. From the list below, please indicate your age bracket

24-29.....[]
30-35.....[]
36-41.....[]
42-47.....[]
48-53.....[]
54-59.....[]
60-65.....[]
65+.....[]

28. What is your sex? Male [], Female []

APPENDIX E

E.1 Conceptual Clarifications

Several commentators have drawn attention to conceptual and methodological weakness in the general area of family research, (See for example, Safilios Rothchild, 1968, Olson and Rabunsky, 1972), Turk and Bell, 1972). They noted a lack of conceptual and methodological sophistication despite an abundance of research studies. In addition, emphasized that the improvement of conceptualisation and the development of valid operational indicators are needed before substantive research is undertaken. (See also Graham, 1992; Bertancourt & Lopez, 1993 ;).

In my view, highest priority should be given to conceptual clarification of a discourse. For then can measurement issue be addressed in terms of fit between constitutive and operational definitions (see for example, Kerlinger, (1973); Thomas and Weigert, (1973)?

According to Gibbs (1983), “for all practical purposes the predictive accuracy of a theory depends entirely on definitions”. Obviously, it will be difficult to gain useful insight into the pattern of family management among Nigerian professional families if, we do not have a clear conception of what each variable means. In Cognizance, I will attempt to set out clearly the concepts of: - Family and Household, as well as unitary character of family and work – as Family Work as used in the research.

E.2 Traditional ‘Family’ and ‘household’: the new Meanings

The need to explain as well as describe the growing diversity of family arrangement in Britain according to Beck (1992, 1997) has generated a great deal of interest because of individualisation of intimate relationships. See also Beck and Gernshiem (1995).

The demographic shifts in family formation and dissolution have been significant in framing contemporary understandings of family and domestic issues today (Graham Allen, 2001).

Family is no longer seen as a static social entity; instead the complexities of what was

previously grouped under 'the family' have become the focus of much sociological research attention. It is now recognised that a distinction need to be made between family and households activities. As many domestic activities are household – based, that is, they arise through individual sharing a home. They are not of themselves family activities though frequently, it is family members who are involved, but also other members of the same family live elsewhere depending on what 'family' is taken to comprise. Therefore, there is a need for clarity about how the term family and household are applied in sociological analysis. The essential distinction between family and household is not particularly (Allen, 2001) complex, however if 'we are to generate a satisfactory analysis of the performance of domestic work then we need to be clearer of what each term means and in what context it is being used in the analysis.

In the western society family has been described as essentially about the solidarities, which exist between those who are taken to be related to one another through ties of blood, marriage, and kinship (Schneider, 1968). Competing ideas exist about how these relationships are best ordered (Finch and Mason, 1993). The household on the other hand is defined as essentially social grouping which typically share a range of domestic activities in common, these including sleeping in the same dwelling as one another, having most meals together and normally sharing in a common domestic economy and household budgeting (Anderson, Bechhofer and Gershuny, 1994; 1983; Morris, 1990a, 1990b). These activities do not require that those involved share any kinship link with one another. While 'families' and 'households' tends to overlap, empirically, from a sociological point of view, it is useful to keep the two concepts separate, as different questions arise from considering each of them. Focus on family matters for example, brings to the attention such elements like a nuclear family made of married man and woman and their children; traditional division of labour between the couples. It directs often to issues as the complimentary roles of men and women, how

responsibility and workload are shared between husbands and wives, character of solidarity and conflicts between husband and wives. Talcott Parson (1965) best illustrates this when he argued that the major mechanism preventing disruptive competition between husbands and wife is sex-role segregation, where the domain of husband's role is the occupational role and the domain of the wife homemaker and mother.

Households meanwhile tends to emphasis a different set of concern, these may include inter-alia, the extent and character of the strategies which households' develop for coping with the contingencies they face: the way in which resources are distributed within the households between members (Allatt, and Yeandle, 1986; Huston and Jenkins, 1989; McKee and Bell, 1986; Morris, 1990b; Pahl, 1984). In theory however, there is nothing, which prevents such issues as these being posed or address within a 'family' framework.

Consequently, this research focuses on 'families' instead of 'households' as an analytical concept. Harris argues that it is worthwhile to utilise the family as essential tool in analysing the groups and relationships that grow up around the universal human activities of "procreation and rearing" and "generational reproduction" (Harris, 1983

As the character of family and household relationship has been altering significantly so too have sociological and social psychological family researchers have recognised the significance of these changes. Within sociology there is now a recognition of the diversity of family pattern, which includes; dual earner family without children; dual earner family with children (Hochschilds, 1989; Brannen and Moss, 1991); single parents families (Smith and Smith, 1981; Graham, 19870; non-heterosexual families (Bozett, 1985; 1988; shulenburg, 1985); role-reversal families (Radin, 1982; Radin and Rusell, 1983; Rusell, 1987); shared care-giving families (Radin, 1982; Ehrensaft, 1987; Kimball, 1988); father and children families (Lamb, 1981, Beali and Mcguire, 1982; Jackson, 1984; Hanson and Bozett, 1985;

Lewis and O'Brian, 1987) and mother and children (Bowlby, 1953; Newson and Newson, 1963, 1968; Hoffman and Nye, 1974).

This present research concentrated on immigrant dual earner families with children.

E.3 Family as a unit of analysis

The study of family work requires a research strategy that makes the family or at least the couple the unit of analysis. Major methodological weakness in the past research has been the collection of data from one members of a family: husband, wife or the children (usually from the wives and children), with subsequent inference made to the marital unit of husband and wife (Harmila, Horna et al, 1984). In my view, this is a serious limitation because collecting information from either husbands or wife will lead to provision of incomplete and often misleading information about the family work management. Although, collecting information from both husband and wife is a highly useful alternative. Nevertheless, using such approach to collect information requires and often creates conceptual and theoretical challenges. For example, there may be widespread agreement that 'couple' refers to a dyad i.e. husband and wife (Horna et al, 1984), but with ever changing forms and shape of family, the question of what kind of persons are presumed to be involved need to be addressed. Most sociological literature indeed most family literatures when using the term 'couple' effectively assumes heterosexual pairs. Accepting this assumption uncritically may have data collection consequences and indeed the interpretation of the result if the research is taking place in a certain environment or community. Thus to argue for making the 'couple' the basic unit of sampling unit calls for elaborating both the important advantages and disadvantages of such a research strategy.

To aggregate the responses of husbands or wives as many studies have done in the past is artificial because such approach would most likely miss the social reality, in this case pair interaction pattern. The 'couple' approach does not make the research wholly dependent upon

one partner's report of the others attitude and behaviour in performing domestic work. Therefore, adopting 'couple' as a unit of analysis provides duplicate information from both partners, this afford the researcher the opportunity to match perceptual data for example, responses on who does what in the house. Also by adopting 'couple' as unit of analysis, it aims to avoid the often common mistake of collecting data that yield only one version of phenomena, thereby reducing the finding value and contributions. Consequently, this research adopted the husband and wife as a unit of analysis.

E.4 Warrant against a comparative research approach

This study focuses exclusively on Nigerian professional families and rejects a comparative racial research paradigm. (Race is defined here as those group who are considered so different from the mainstream society). Such approach can reinforce an interpretation of immigrant Nigerian professional family's perception of gender role as deviant and ignore the within-group variation (Azibo 1992: Howard & Scott, 1981: Mcloyd & Randolph 1986). Moreover, a "subtle evolutionary pre-assumption" (Stanfield II 1993) is implicit by raising the need for white comparative group by implying research exclusively on immigrant Nigerian families is unimportant unless compared to mainstream families. This question either demonstrates dual standard and/ or white supremacy for the majority of studies, which claim to reveal important observations seldom, make racial comparison.

There is no compulsion initially to examine racial differences for the research question was not of this nature.

E.5 Warrant against comparative research

One motivation for this investigation is unqualified claims and the lack of research addressing the role relationship of African immigrant. Uncritical acceptance of Western ideas undermines Nigerian's perception of gender role relationship. Indeed, a localised Nigerian perspective is necessary, according to Boykin (1979):

“....investigation of Black people should emanate directly from the experiences and perspective of Black people”. (Boykin et al. 1979:9)

For Thomson (1992), social localisation of experiences and knowledge is necessary. While similarities exist there are important differences between Nigerian families and Mainstream families. Acknowledging these factors’ relationship to experience counteracts imposing external frameworks of understanding (Meyers 1992: Gergen 1985). Some of these differences include:

- (a) Link with countries other than present domicile
- (b) Reason for being in country presently living in
- (c) Legacy of colonialism
- (d) Legacy of institutionalised segregation in British society

Choosing immigrant Nigerian professional families however for this research has both its limitations and advantages. On the one hand, there is near absence of past research work on immigrant Nigerian families living in London, which can be used as a barometer to measure the outcome of the present research findings. Secondly, although the Nigerian professional families are part of multi-ethnic groups that make up contemporary Britain, they have their own unique social and economic structure that are significantly different from those of the main stream families and other ethnic groups (for example, marriage formations and obligations), thereby, making adoption of methodologies used in studies mainstream families inappropriate. Finally, the pattern of family life and roles may not have changed sufficiently to make valid comparison with mainstream professional families.

On the other hand, this group of immigrant families affords an opportunity to go beyond the European and North American experiences of dual-earner families and see if western pattern of gender division of domestic work are becoming evident among the immigrant families from Nigeria.

Thus, this research may provide insight to whether or not there is a global convergence in the evolution of pattern of dual-earner families, especially about roles of husbands, which appears to be the key to successful functioning of this type of family. Although, the consensus in the majority of sociological literatures is that wives still perform most of the household work (Wheelock, 1990; Berk, 1985; Pleck, 1985; Ehrensaft, 1987; Kimball, 1988; Berardo et al, 1987; Elliot and Huppert, 1991; Brannen and Moss, 1991; Hochschilds, 1989). Indeed that change has been very slow (Doucet, 1991). The question, which many studies are addressing, is why have we not noticed more flexibility in roles sharing within the dual – earner families?

Focus Group Topic Guide

Introduction

Good afternoon, my name is ...and this is my assistant ...who will moderate today's discussion. Thank you for coming.

Purpose

We are here today to talk about identity as immigrant in Britain. If you look around, you will notice that all the people in the room are Nigerians born in Nigeria. The purpose is to get your perception of how you described yourself (more specifically were you see as your HOME), mindful that by virtue of you holding a British passport or holding resident permit that you are described as a British. Secondly we want to get your perception of how you think your sense of who you are influences your behaviour to a range of things including how you and your spouse manage family work i.e. housework, child-care, house services, and provider roles. Finally, why you think that the management framework you describe is appropriate for you and your spouse.

I am not here to share information, or give you my opinions. Your perceptions are what matters. There are no right or wrong, desirable, or undesirable answers. You can disagree with each other, and you can change your views. I would like you to feel comfortable saying what you really believe and how you really feel

Discussion procedure

I will be taking notes of the discussion so that I do not miss anything you have to say. I explained these procedures to all of you when we meet last time. As you know, everything is confidential. No one will know who said what. I want this to be a group discussion, so feel free to respond to the moderator (first name) and to other members in the group without waiting to be called on. However, I would appreciate it if only one person did talk at a time. The discussion will last approximately one and half. There is a lot I want to discuss, so at times the moderator (first name) may move us along a bit. Please do not be offended if this happen.

Participant introduction

Now, let us start by everyone sharing their names, when they came to Britain, state of origin in Nigeria, and reason for coming to Britain in the first place.

Rapport building

I want each of you to think of an adjective that best described how you feel when you meet a follow Nigerian in the street or bus or train, and how you might feel if you meet the same person in a Lagos or Abuja street. We are going to go around the room so you can share your choices. Please briefly explain why you selected the adjective(s) you did.

Interview

Where do you believe is your home, London or you town in Nigeria?

Probes: If London or Nigeria is choosing as home, why is that, if none is choosing why?

Is there any reason(s) as to why you choose London/Nigeria as home?

Probes: Is there any experiences that you have not mentioned that may have contributed to your decision? If you have not experienced the things you mentioned would your choice be different?

Can you describe your experiences with the mainstream (white population) and employers?

Probes: tell me more about that. Will you say that these experiences have impact on how you perceive your identity in London?

Describe to us why you believe that Nigerian irrespective of the number of years they have lived outside Nigerian should identify themselves as Nigerians.

Probes: That is interesting; tell me us more about that?

If this is so important, why do you take up British nationality?

Probes: That is very interesting; tell us more about that.

Why do you believe that Nigerians who have lived outside Nigeria for a very long time and have taken-up British nationality should identify themselves as British rather than Nigeria?

Probes: That is interesting; tell us more.

This very important issue so I want everybody to think through responses.

Do you think that how you identify yourself has any bearing on how you interact with the mainstream population and you other Nigerians?

Probes: tell us more.

What areas of interaction do you feel are affected?

Probes: why do you say that? What would be the consequences for you if you do not interact the way you said?

Describe to us the most beneficial aspects of your interactions.

Probes: That is interesting; tell us more about that.

Let us think specifically about family work, we know that in Nigeria men are not expected to cook and do most domestic work and that woman are not expected to take up provider role whereas, in this country both men and women are expected to do domestic work and perform provider role for their families.

I want to know what the group think of this. Does anybody think it is acceptable for us to adapt to this new way of managing family or to stick with the way things are done back in Nigeria?

Probes: tell us why you think like that.

Closure

There were many differences in opinion about how the members of the group perceive their identity, however, it appears unanimous that majority identify Nigeria as their home. Does anyone see it differently? It seems most of you agree with the summation, but some think that Britain is their home. Does anyone want to add or clarify an opinion on this?

Is there any other information regarding your experience with or following today's discussion that you think would be useful for me to know?

Thank you very much for coming this afternoon. Your time is very much appreciated and your comments have been very helpful.

In-depth Interview Guide

“Good Morning. I am(introduce self).

This interview is being conducted to get your views about the prevalent family management framework that we observe from the survey, which, you took part. I am interested especially in your views on why majority of you prefer traditional family management framework.

If it is okay with you, I will be taking note during our conversation. The purpose of this is so that I can get all the details but at the same time be able to carry on an attentive conversation with you. I assure you that all your comments will remain confidential. I will be writing a thesis, which will contain comments from all the people that took part in the study without any explicit reference to individuals. If you agree to this interview and the note taking, please sign this consent form.

“I will like to start by having you briefly describe your views on how you perceive the relevant of the study generally (probe more to gather the necessary information).”

“I am now going to ask you some questions that I would like you to answer to the best of your ability. If you do not know the answer or felt that it is too personal and do not want to answer, please say so”.

“Do you see Britain as home or not?” (Note to interview: if yes/no probe – “why do you see Britain as home/not home?”, Do you tends to associate more with people from Nigerian or do you mix well with people from different ethnic groups?”.
Do you have any suggestions why you think more Nigerian saw their country of origin as home?

Do you see your identification with Nigeria/Britain as important on how you conduct your social life? (Probe: do you think your perception of yourself have any impact on what you tell your children? Do your identification with Nigeria/Britain have any influence on how you interact with people in your neighbourhood? Do you find it easier to associate with other people particularly the mainstream? How about racism do you think that Britain is racist country?

Do you think your identification with Britain/Nigeria has any influence on how you management you family work? (Probe: why do you opt to adopt family management framework that is similar to framework in Britain/Nigeria? Is it because you see Britain/Nigeria as home? “I will like to know more about what your thinking is, on this issue?”)

“Is there any other information about this study or other aspects of the study that you think would be useful for me to know?”

